

SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series Vol. 5 1991





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CONTENTS

<i>I. V. Pozdeeva</i> , Istoricheskoe bytovanie izdaniï Moskovskogo Pechatnogo dvora pervoi poloviny XVII veka	page 5
<i>Iaroslav D. Isaievych</i> , Ukrainian Early-Printed Books: Collections and Collecting	25
<i>V. I. Fedorova</i> , Zimnedvorskie biblioteki	31
<i>Zuzana Nagy</i> , Unofficial and Independent Publishing in Czechoslovakia, 1972-1990	50
<i>Janet Zmroczek</i> , Publishing in Poland after 1945	61
<i>Hanna Świdorska</i> , Fortunes and Misfortunes of Polish Emigré Publishing after 1945	84
<i>David Griffiths and Nadia Zilper</i> , E. L. Kasprowicz and the Publication of Banned Russian Books in Germany	95
<i>V. E. Kel'ner</i> , Peterburgskaia gazeta 'Poriadok'	108
<i>N. G. Patrusheva</i> , Reforma tsenzury v Rossii 1865 g.: zakon i praktika	120
<i>Marianna Tax Choldin</i> , Censorship under Gorbachev	130
<i>A. Suetnov</i> , Novyi samizdat (shtrikhi k istorii)	143
<i>Gregory Walker</i> , Recent Developments in Soviet Publishing	153
The New Soviet Law on the Press (Introduction and translation by W. E. Butler)	167
<i>Patricia Kennedy Grimsted</i> , Perestroika in Soviet Archives? Glasnost, Archival Reform and Researcher Access	177

Reviews

<i>A Guide to Scholarly Resources on the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union in the New York Metropolitan Area</i> , compiled by Robert A. Karlowich (Janet M. Hartley)	199
<i>A Researcher's Guide to Sources on Soviet Social History in the 1930s</i> , edited by Sheila Fitzpatrick and Lynne Viola (Robert A. Karlowich)	200
<i>Barbara Bieńkowska and Halina Chamerska</i> , <i>Books in Poland: Past and Present</i> (Hanna Świdorska)	202
<i>David Arans</i> , <i>Bibliografiia russkikh knig, izdannykh za predelami SSSR 1980-1989</i> (Olga Kaznina)	204

Notes

Books Received

Contributors

206

209

210

P 35721

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All correspondence, including subscription and advertising enquiries, should
be addressed to the Editor:

Dr Christine Thomas
Slavonic and East European Collections
The British Library
Great Russell Street
London WC1B 3DG
United Kingdom
Telephone: 071-323 7587

The Editor will supply *Notes for Contributors* and *Notes for Reviewers* on
request.

From the Editorial Board

This is a special double issue of *Solanus*, devoted to a selection of papers presented at the International Slavic Librarians' Conference held in Harrogate, England, in July 1990, as part of the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies. A separate part of the conference, intended as a forum for the discussion of practical library problems, was held at Churchill College, Cambridge, prior to the main Congress. Its proceedings will be duplicated and distributed by the British Library.

In contrast with previous years, when few delegates from behind the then Iron Curtain were able to attend, the 1990 Congress was a truly international event, with many panels composed of speakers from both East and West.

Many of the papers published here (Nagy, Zmroczek, Świdorska, Choldin, Suetnov, Walker, Butler) will be invaluable to present readers for providing new, previously uncharted information about the changing and chaotic publishing scene in Eastern Europe and the USSR, and to future readers for providing a snapshot of a key moment in the history of the printed word. The papers on earlier periods (Pozdeeva, Fedorova, Isaievych, Griffiths and Zilper, Kel'ner, Patrusheva) also break new ground: notably, Irina Pozdeeva's account of the readership and distribution of seventeenth-century Moscow books changes completely the picture presented in previous research. Professor Grimsted's paper on Soviet archives (a topic normally outside the scope of *Solanus*) will be of interest to archivists, librarians and users of archives.

The publication of this issue has been made possible by two generous subsidies: from the ISLC Committee and the International Council for Soviet and East European Studies.

Историческое бытование изданий Московского Печатного двора первой половины XVII века

И. В. Поздеева

Московский Печатный двор — крупнейшая типография XVII века, печатавшая кириллическим шрифтом, издал за годы от восстановления после пожара (1614) до перехода, фактически, в руки патриарха Никона (1652) почти 300 тысяч экземпляров книг, каждая из которых была и фактом и фактором культурной, религиозной и политической жизни общества. В том числе были напечатаны шесть типов книг для разных уровней обучения, общим тиражом более 100 тысяч экземпляров;¹ несколько кругов литургической книги; основные типы книг, необходимых для религиозной полемики; полный комплекс светского и церковного права; несколько важнейших компендиумов календарных чтений, содержащих многие сотни лучших произведений раннехристианских, византийских, славянских и русских авторов; календарь, содержащий хронологический, исторический, агиографический комментарий и основные изменяемые тексты службы ..., и многие иные издания, на века вошедшие в русскую и славянскую культуру.

Предлагаемая работа — экстракт изучения исторического бытования, исторической роли этой книги, ее функции в жизни общества. Основной метод исследования — сопоставление данных архива Приказа книг печатного дела² с данными о судьбах тысяч известных нам сегодня экземпляров этих изданий. Эти данные получены при работе с коллекциями библиотеки Московского университета, при описании книг в старообрядческих общинах, государственных и частных библиотеках, из опубликованных каталогов, описей старых библиотек и других источников.

На основании выявленных данных ниже освещаются следующие проблемы: в чьи руки печатная книга попадала после выхода; сколько она стоила в XVII веке, какие социальные слои ее приобретали, какова география и скорость ее распространения; характер отношения к печатной книге и характер ее функционирования в XVII веке; роль и функция дониконовской печатной книги в последующие эпохи русской истории: в XVIII веке и в новое время (XIX-XX века).

Если обратиться теперь к материалам о распространении московских изданий непосредственно в годы выхода книги в свет, прежде всего

¹ Частично эти материалы опубликованы в книге — Поздеева И. В. Новые материалы для описания изданий Московского Печатного двора. Первая половина XVII в. Методические рекомендации. Москва: Государственная библиотека СССР им. В. И. Ленина, 1986.

² Центральный государственный архив древних актов (далее ЦГАДА), ф. 1182.

встанет вопрос о ценах на книги, то есть о доступности печатной книги разным кругам русского общества. В то же время именно политика цен во многом определяет, чем было для власти и само книгопечатание — средством просвещения (как писалось во всех послесловиях к изданиям), или средством наживы, как полагали некоторые историки.³ Издательская деятельность, по крайней мере в интересующее нас время, не рассматривалась ни церковью, ни государством в качестве средства получения прибыли. Цели книгопечатания, как это декларировалось в послесловии почти каждого издания, были действительно широкими и должны были помочь в решении основных задач, стоящих перед государством — в лице царя и церковью — в лице патриарха. Тексты выходных данных книг были чрезвычайно важным, фактически формулярным документом, удостоверяющим сущность власти и характер ее взаимоотношений как с силой божественной, так и с любым возможным читателем; документом, формулирующим сущность, функцию и истинность каждого печатного экземпляра. Слова и состав этой формулы достаточно традиционны и менялись редко. (Фактически все послесловия и представляли собой, в зависимости от характера и времени издания, последовательность нескольких таких достаточно постоянных формул.) Тексты послесловий чрезвычайно важны для понимания роли ранней печатной московской книги, поскольку их идеи в той или иной форме дополняли, фактически, любой из сотен тысяч расходящихся по стране экземпляров изданий. Например, послесловие Учительного Евангелия 1633 года (л. 592 об.-593 об.) саму идею ‘о исправлении книжном и о словеси истинном, изложением печатными писмены’, считает принадлежащей самому Христу, который и ‘просвети разум и очи сердечнии верному рабу своему, его же избра, и елеом святым помазанному, благочестивому государю, царю и великому князю Михаилу Федоровичу всея Руси самодержцу’. Далее сформулированы и цели книгопечатания: раздавать ‘всем богатство благочестия’, помогать царю утверждать ‘мир и тишину’, и добиваться, чтобы царство его всегда сияло ‘святолепным просвещением’ и пребывало ‘в божественной славе’, а церковь ‘апостольскими и божественными правилами и уставы да цветет и славится всегда’. Указано и к кому обращены слова Послесловия, для кого издаются книги: для христианского народа ‘многочисленного словенского языка, своя великия державы, всея славноименитыя Руси, Московскаго государства и прочих государств ...’. Далее в послесловии, хотя и гораздо более уклончиво, говорится о тех, против кого направлена и каждая издаваемая истинно-божественная книга, и деятельность типографии, которая призвана: ‘Мрак же нечестивыя злобы тем да обличится, и буря противных ветров

³ Лунтов С. П. Книга в России в XVII в. Ленинград, 1970, с. 58-60 и др.

да отогнана будет.’ Поэтому и цену на вновь отпечатанные книги, начиная с первых изданий, вышедших после восстановления типографии назначали по себестоимости книги. Вот как говорится об этом в указе о продаже Триоди постной, вышедшей 5.XII.1621 года: ‘... а на те книги ... положена цена, во что книги стали в печати бес прибыли, для просвещения святых божиих церквей и для их [т.е. царя и патриарха] государского многолетнего здоровья, чтобы теми книгами святые божии церкви просвещались ...’⁴

30 марта 1622 года появляется новая запись: ‘... у Кондратья [Иванова] и мастеровых людей из дела вышло 1060 книг псалтирей учебных. А на те книги ... положена цена, во что те книги стали в печати бес прибыли, по 20 алтын [60 копеек] за книгу.’⁵

Так же без прибыли, а ‘во что стала’ продавалась Минея декабрьская (выхода 15.X.1620 г. — 25 алт.), Апостол (выхода 25.V.1621 г. — 25 алт. 4 ден., т.е. 77 коп.) и все остальные издания, фактически до 1634 года, пока очередной пожар не нанес Печатному двору значительный ущерб. Первой книгой вышедшей после пожара была Псалтирь с воследованием (15.IX.1634 г.). К себестоимости этого издания (1 р. 17 алт. и 1,5 ден.), определенной с учетом 5-ти безденежно поднесенных экземпляров, царь впервые указал добавить 32 алтына и ‘полупяте’ деньги для ‘книжново печатново, дворового и палатново дела’. Таким образом, цена книги стала включать в себя и траты на ремонт и перестройку типографии и определяться вместе ‘с двором и палатным строением’, как говорится это применительно к Шестодневу 1635 года.⁶ В случае с Псалтирью наценка равнялась около 64%; Служебник, вышедший 15.IV.1635 года, имел себестоимость 23 алтына 2 деньги, а продавался по 30 алтын — т.е. с наценкой около 28,6%; Триодь постная (6.XII.1635 г.) обошлась по рублю 7 алтын за экземпляр, а продавалась по рублю 25 алтын — т.е. с надбавкой в 44,63%. Именно с этого времени ‘указная’ цена и начинает в большей или меньшей степени превышать себестоимость, но эта наценка никогда в исследуемое время не становится слишком большой, и для определенных типов изданий оставалась достаточно постоянной, составляя по отношению к себестоимости превышение в 30-70%.

В литературе давно утвердилось справедливое представление о высокой относительной стоимости ранней печатной книги. Ее легко представить, сравнивая с оплатой труда мастеровых людей, эту книгу печатавших. Для сравнения назовем цены следующих книг: Минея общая с праздничной (15.X.1635) — себестоимость 1 рубль 13 алтын 4 деньги,

⁴ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 1, л. 345 об.

⁵ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 1, л. 233.

⁶ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 18, л. 450.

цена — 2 рубля; Часовник (10.XI.1635) — себестоимость 2 алт. 4 ден., цена — 5 алт.; Псалтирь учебная (6.V.1636) — себестоимость 16 алт. 4 ден., цена — 23 алт. 2 ден.; Псалтирь с воследованием (4.X.1636) — себестоимость 1 р. 29 алт., цена — 2 р.; Трефологион, ч. 1 (основная) (1.XI.1637) — себестоимость 1 р. 26 алт. 4 ден., цена — 2 р. и т.д.⁷

Подъячие Приказа книг печатного дела получили в 1634 году в качестве полугодового окладного жалованья 30 рублей и в качестве хлебного жалования деньги за 30 юфтей хлеба. Наборщик в 1634 году получил за полугодие обеих видов жалованья 20 рублей 11 алтын; разборщик — 14 р. 19 алт., переплетчики — по 17 р. 18 алт.; словолитцы — 18 р. 25 алт.

Еще более выразительные сравнительные данные дают документы об оплате людей, нанятых для ремонта и строительства Печатного двора после пожара (июль 1634 г.):⁸ самая низкая плата — 8 денег (4 коп.) в день — выдается 'ярыжным людям', нанятым для черной и неквалифицированной работы; плотники получают уже по 3 алтына 2 деньги в день; для строительства покупают по себестоимости в Приказе каменных дел кирпич по 1 рублю 20 алтын за 1000 штук,⁹ а изба для переплетчиков вместе с провозом обходится в 17 рублей.¹⁰ Таким образом, книги, необходимые для обучения, обязательные в любом доме, где есть грамотные, независимо от его социального статуса, как правило, были невелики по размеру и соответственно доступны по цене. Например, первые, очевидно, еще пробные Азбуки, изданные на Печатном дворе до выхода в свет Азбуки Василия Бурцова,¹¹ были в 'полудесть' и в 'четверть', т.е. в 4° и 8° долю листа, стоили соответственно 2 деньги и 1 деньгу. Таким образом, ярыжный на деньги за один день работы (обычно ярыжные убрали строительный мусор) мог купить восемь малых Азбук; а плотнику, чтобы приобрести Учебный Часовник, необходимо было потратить 1,5 своего дневного заработка. Самые дорогие издания этих лет: Псалтирь с воследованием, заменявшая сразу Учебную псалтирь, Часовник, Канонник и Святцы стоили столько же, сколько стоили три с половиной юфти хлеба, а Минея общая с праздничной, которая могла заменить 'по бедности' годичный круг миней — 2,7 юфти.

Таким образом, цены были относительно доступные и, главное, указная цена, по которой книгу продавало государство, в интересующее нас

⁷ Эти материалы опубликованы в книге — Поздеева. Новые материалы ... (примечание 1).

⁸ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 19, л. 33-39 об.

⁹ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 19, л. 91.

¹⁰ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 18, л. 11.

¹¹ В материалах архива говорится, что 'во 142 году [т.е. с 1.IX.1633 по 1.IX.1634] всяким людям продано в научение детям сто азбук в полдесть, а взято по 2 деньги за азбуку'. В то же время Азбук 'в четверть' было продано 400 экземпляров по деньге за штуку. (ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 20, л. 147.) Также см. Поздеева (примечание 1), № 67-68.

время *всегда* была значительно меньше той, что стоила книга при ее дальнейшей перепродаже или вкладе. Сейчас накоплен значительный материал о стоимости московских изданий в XVII и XVIII веках. Его сравнение с выявленными нами ‘указными’ ценами (как правило, сохранившимися на Печатном дворе до полной распродажи тиража) доказывает, что реальная цена печатной книги всегда была выше определенной государством, и в зависимости от типа книги могла в первой половине XVII века превышать ее значительно. Например, Триоди в изданиях 30-40-х годов продавались обычно на 20-40% дороже; Апостол 20-40-х годов продавался или оценивался при вкладе на сумму от 11% до 60% большую ‘указной’ цены; Минея общая с праздничной продавалась на 10-100% дороже; минеи служебные на разные месяцы, судя по записям, стоили дороже от 25% до 75%; Псалтирь с воследованием — от 25 до 36% и т.д.

Особенно ‘протекционистской’ была политика цен по отношению к книгам, используемым для обучения, которых систематически не хватало, хотя тиражи именно этих изданий были самыми большими и издавались они во много раз чаще, чем основные типы книг литургических. Поэтому книги для обучения раскупались чрезвычайно быстро, и, очевидно, во многих случаях шли для церковных школ или для перепродажи. Например, 6000 экземпляров Азбуки, вышедшей между 31 декабря 1648 и 6 апреля 1649 года, были раскуплены за 5 дней 21 покупателем (1442 Азбуки купили мастеровые Печатного двора¹²). 2400 экземпляров Азбуки, вышедшей из дела 19.VI.1651 года и напечатанной из остаточных книжных запасов,¹³ разошлись в один день! Пять Азбук были отданы справщикам, одна оставлена как ‘кавычная’ — служить ‘для переводу’ — т.е. оригиналом для последующих изданий, а 2394 экземпляра проданы 6 покупателям из Москвы, Нижнего Новгорода, Холмогор, Казани и Хохломы.

Не менее показательны сведения о продажах Часовника — следующей после Азбуки книги, по которой традиционно обучали в XVII веке грамоте и вере. 2082 экземпляра Часовника, вышедшего 15.III.1643 года (тираж 2400, себестоимость 4 алт., цена — 6 алт. 4 ден. — т.е. 20 коп.), разошлись на Печатном дворе за 8 дней продажи: 402 экземпляра купили 103 человека самого разного чина, а 1680 — 168 мастеровых Печатного двора (в среднем по 10 экземпляров), настолько выгодной, очевидно,

¹² ЦГАДА, ф. 1181, оп. 1, кн. 47, л. 214-216.

¹³ Поздеева (примечание 1), № 67, 68, 148, 174, 192; ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 47, л. 509-511 об. В результате этого себестоимость Азбуки была всего полушка (т.е. четвертая часть копейки, половина деньги), а продавалась она по обычной цене — 2 деньги. Это единственный известный нам случай 300% наценки на издание, хотя Печатный двор и получил за него прибыль всего в 18 руб.

была перепродажа этой книги. (Именно в этом издании была впервые опубликована замечательная, в полном и сегодняшнем смысле, методическая статья: 'Наказ ко учителем, како учить детей грамоте, и како детям учиться ...'). Часовник, изданный 15 июня 1644 года (1200 экземпляров, себестоимость 4 алт., цена 6 алт. 4 ден. — т.е. 20 коп.) разошелся с 1 по 12 июля всего за 5 дней продажи. Мастеровым людям самой типографии было в этот раз разрешено приобрести только по одной книге (113 экземпляров), 10 экземпляров были поднесены царской семье и патриарху, 6 — переданы справщикам, остальные 981 экземпляр купили 61 человек, причем 4-6 книг куплены только 8 раз, а среднее число купленных одним человеком Часовников составляет около 19 экземпляров. Самое большое число экземпляров издания приобретены, видимо, для школ — попом боярина Ф. И. Шереметьева и в казну ярославского Спасского монастыря — по 50 экземпляров; очевидно, для церковной школы приобретал, фактически все издания 'учебных' книг этих лет, дьякон московской церкви св. Климента, он купил 40 книг; столько же приобрела и казна Соловецкого монастыря. 191 книгу купили 7 рядовичей (из 5 московских торговых рядов), 4 представителя 'сотен' (гостиной, суконной, сретенской) и один человек, названный просто 'гость'. Среди покупателей — садовник, сторож, житель огородной слободы и другие. Насколько типична эта картина распродажи и по скорости реализации, и по социальному составу покупателей, видно, если привести данные о продаже Часовника, вышедшего 15 февраля 1645 года (тираж — 1200 экз., цена 18 коп. при себестоимости 12 коп.). Нам известна судьба 1191 экземпляра. Они были раскуплены с 1 по 13 марта за 7 дней продажи. Исключая единовременную покупку мастеровых типографии (купивших 219 книг), 975 часовников были приобретены 89 покупателями (в среднем, по 11 книг). Самые крупные приобретения сделаны для школ — тем же попом Ф. И. Шереметьева Михаилом (45 книг) и Троицко-Сергиевским монастырем (40 книг). В отличие от судьбы издания 1644 года, новую книгу купили и два представителя знати — И. Д. Пожарский (5 экз.) и В. И. Стрешнев (6 экз.). 231 экземпляр книги приобрели: 13 рядовичей 8 московских рядов (117 экз.), 6 человек из Гостиной и Сретенской сотен (71 экз.) и 2 'гостя' (43 книги), судя по тому, что их имена постоянно появляются среди покупателей этих лет, да и на самих сохранившихся экземплярах изданий, не только постоянно торговавшие книгой, но и имевшие личные библиотеки. Это достаточно известные купцы Андрей Никитников и Надей Святешников. Снова среди покупателей есть садовник, стрелец, бараш, переплетчики ...

Чтобы не занимать слишком много места, расписанные нами и обработанные данные о продаже на Печатном дворе важнейшего, самого популярного и распространенного в народе издания — Псалтири, при-

ведем суммарно. Отношение к этой книге прекрасно передает запись на экземпляре издания 1634 года, который принадлежал в XVII веке посадскому человеку Соли Вычегодской, а потом крестьянину-мезенцу: 'Лета 7155 году (1647) июня ... сия книга ... душе полезное есть, ово Бога хвалит, со ангелы вкупе превозносит велиим гласом, за цари и за князи Бога молит, и за весь мир псалтирию и о самом себе Бога умолишь. Больше и выше есть всех книг сия, убо нарицается псалтирь.'¹⁴ Из записей продажи 6 изданий Учебных псалтирей 1645-1649 годов, мы узнаем судьбу 5667 экземпляров (из 7200 напечатанных, т.к. все издания имели уже установившийся 'стандартный' тираж — по 1200 экз.). Продавались эти книги по цене от 50 копеек (два последних издания) до 70 копеек (два первых), 3-е и 4-е стоили соответственно 54 и 60 копеек. 5667 экземпляров книги были куплены 549 людьми,¹⁵ 4036 экземпляров книги приобретены москвичами. Из них 589 книг купили 113 торговых людей, рядовичей, жителей посада; 342 псалтири приобрели 120 приказных и служилых; представители высших светских кругов купили всего 8% тиража этого издания. Целых 38% общего тиража оказались в руках работников Печатного двора; четвертая часть 6 изданий Псалтирей приобретена церквями и монастырями, в значительной степени также для школьных нужд. Например, вышеупомянутый дьякон Климентовской московской церкви купил 129 экземпляров всех 6 изданий.

Приведем результаты обработки записей реализации, очевидно самого первого издания, проданного в новой лавке московского Печатного двора — Псалтири следованной выхода 8.IX.1632 года. Ею открывается книга, озаглавленная 'Книга Приказу книжново печатного дела, а в ней записывать выход из печати и продажу всяких книг'. Один экземпляр издания стоил 1 рубль 20 алтын; тираж разошелся к 10.XI.1632 году. В росписи учтены покупки 468 человек, приобретших 658 экземпляров издания, продававшегося 'во что в деле стало'. В книге говорится о продаже: 'властем и бояром и окольничим и всяких чинов людям'; в этом же порядке приведены и имена покупателей: 'а кому имянем и сколько — то писано в сей книге имянной'. Далее следуют записи, свидетельствующие, что 3 книги отнесены царю, 25 — куплены 8 высшими иерархами, а 83 экземпляра приобрели 31 представитель властей светских. Среди них имена: И. Н. Романова, И. Б. Черкасского, Д. М. Пожарского, И. И. Шуйского, Ф. И. Шереметьева; среди покупателей кравчий, спальники, думные дьяки, стольники. В росписи степенных

¹⁴ Горфункель А. Х. Каталог книг кирилловской печати 16-17 веков. Ленинград: Ленинградский государственный университет, 1970, № 77.

¹⁵ К сожалению, все эти сложные подсчеты пришлось делать вручную, так что автору остается повторить типичную формулу писцов и ранних печатников: делал человек, а не ангел (даже без компьютера!), поэтому за ошибки простите, а не кляните.

монастырей, которые купили 31 псалтирь, указаны 15 названий, да трое 'людей патриарха' приобрели 4 книги; список 'соборных протопопов с братьею' включает служителей 84 церквей, для которых куплено 168 книг. Более всего куплено для кремлевских — Богородицкого (18 экз.) и Архангельского (10 экз.) — соборов. Кроме того, по одной книге было разрешено купить всем мастеровым людям Печатного двора (150 книг); 35 книг приобрели в разные дни продаж 24 человека, также из высших 'властей'. Таким образом, 202 представителя церкви купили на Печатном дворе 329 книг и ровно столько же — 266 человек из светских кругов общества.

9 ноября 1632 года было отписано для продажи 1145 Учебных псалтирей, напечатанных крупным шрифтом не в 4 долю листа, как делалось всегда, а 'в десть' (folio). Сохранилась роспись на покупку 1104 книг. 80 монастырей купили 181 книгу, высшие церковные власти — 28, а церковный клир — 133. Таким образом церковь приобрела 312 книг — 28,20% всех известных нам покупок; светские 'власти' (дьяки, подьячие, стряпчие) купили вместе с торговыми людьми 129 книг (50 человек). Остальные книги приобрели: 51 экз. — работники Печатного двора (в том числе Василий Бурцов) и 612 книг — люди без указания должностей или званий и представители социальных низов общества: конюхи, истопники, сторож, ремесленники, крестьяне (в том числе и крепостные). Таким образом, в данном случае, при реализации книги для обучения, более 70% тиража первоначально оказалось в руках светских кругов населения.

В том же источнике есть сведения о продаже Апостола 1633 года (30.IX., 1150 экз., цена 30 алт.).¹⁶ Всего зафиксирована продажа 192 книг. Если исключить из этого списка 55 имен людей, чья социальная принадлежность не указана, то покупатели остальных 137 книг распределились следующим образом: 51% — 70 книг — приобрели москвичи: из них 19 Апостолов купили попы и дьяконы, 21 — приказные, подьячие, дьяки, стряпчие, 13 — люди знатных фамилий, 8 — мастеровые и 6 — рядовичи.

Таким образом, книги действительно раскупаются людьми всех 'чинов и званий', но в зависимости от характера книги меняется (и довольно значительно!) соотношение различных социальных групп покупателей. В основном представителями широких демократических групп раскупались книги для обучения, всегда активна была и церковь, но покупала непосредственно значительно меньше, чем представлялось ранее.

Не менее важен для нас и ответ на вопрос, как далеко книга попадала в ближайшее время после выхода. Работал ли Печатный двор на центральные области или на всю Россию? В решении этой проблемы также

¹⁶ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 17, л. 12 об.-28 об.

незаменимо сопоставление росписей продаж (в которых, как правило, указано, откуда покупатель), записей на книгах и других источников.

Самая первая запись продажи Псалтири следованной в типографской лавке относится к 1632 году. До этого времени книги раздавались для продажи более чем в 50 московских торговых рядов. Например — Минеи на сентябрь и октябрь 1619 года были розданы в 56 рядов.¹⁷ В одни ряды отдавалось всего несколько книг — например, в шубный и завязочный ряды — по 4 книги, в ‘масляной, что позади лукового’ — 2; в овощные ряды передано для продажи 78 книг, в сурожские — 66, в суконные — 62, в верхний свечной и рыбный — 63, а в житные, солодяные, крупяные и мучные ряды Белого города — даже 84 книги.

В 1620 году, когда у мастера попа Никона ‘из дела вышло’ 1070 Учебных псалтирей, тираж частично был ‘роздан в ряды’, по ‘указной цене’ 30 алтын за штуку, а 660 книг отправлено с разборщиками Печатного двора ‘по городам’, в том числе, в Ярославль — 100; в Нижний Новгород и Казань — по 70; в Троице-Сергиев монастырь, Псков, Кострому, Вологду — по 50; в Великий Новгород и Галич — по 30; в Переславль Рязанский, Переславль Залесский, Ростов и в Кириллов монастырь — по 20; а в Коломну и Владимир — по 15; Зарайск, Суздаль. Балахна, Свияжск, Тверь, Торжок получили по 5 экземпляров. Таким образом в 21 город России от Новгорода Великого и Пскова до Ростова и Казани книги поступили в ближайшие месяцы после их выхода. В 1623 году таким образом развозили сразу два издания — Апостол (25.I.1623, вышло 1065 книг, цена 31 алт.) и Минею служебную на ноябрь (19.III.1623 г. — вышло 1004 экз., цена 31 алт. 2 ден.).¹⁸ Ниже приведен список городов и указано количество отвезенных в каждый из них книг — сначала Апостолов, а потом Миней:

На Кинешму — 4 Минеи, 3 Апостола

В Юрьевец Повольский — 20, 17

[неразборчиво] — 50, 30

На Балахну — 24, 17

Казанский дворец

Казань — 50, 30

Свияжск — 15, 10

Чебоксары — 8, 6

Козьмодемьянск — 4, 3

Новгородские четверти

Нижний Новгород — 80, 50

Вологда — 80, 40

Двина — 80, 30

Каргополь — 35, 15

на Вятку — 70

в Пермь Великую — 30

¹⁷ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 1, л. 2 об.

¹⁸ ЦГАДА, ф. 1182, оп. 1, кн. 3, л. 357 об.-377.

<i>Устюжские четверти</i>		<i>Костромские четверти</i>	
в Устюг Великий	— 50, 30	Ярославль	— 80, 50
Соли Вычегодской	— 15, 26	Кострома	— 40, 35
на Тотьму	— 10, 6	Переславль Залесский	— 15, 10
[неразборчиво]	— 15, 26	Муром	— 17, 12
<i>Галицкой четверти</i>			
Ростов	— 10, 8		
Суздаль	— 10, 8		

Поскольку сведения об оплате книг в документах имеются, очевидно, все эти Минеи и Апостолы поступили в указанные города.

Торговля книгами была чрезвычайно выгодна, а потребность в них так велика, что всероссийский 'книжный рынок' возник достаточно рано, по крайней мере анализ росписи продажи Псалтири следованной 1632 года показал, что книгу купили жители 61 населенного места страны. Среди них по количеству покупок выделяются уже знакомые нам города: Вологда — 12 книг, Пермь Великая — 8, Новгород — 7, Суздаль — 7, Рязань — 6, Коломна — 6, Кострома — 5, Муром — 3, Серпухов — 3, Ростов — 4, Казань — 3, Галич — 3, Астрахань — 3, Тверь — 3, Троицко-Сергиевская лавра — 3, и многие иные. 192 экземпляра Апостола 1633 года купили жители 27 городов, местечек и монастырей России: 9 книг ушли в Казань, 7 — в Ярославль и его окрестности, 6 — в Вологду, 5 — в Кириллов монастырь, по 4 книги приобрели жители Костромы, Муром и Белева; названы также жители Нижнего Новгорода, Соловков, Переславля, Арзамаса, Ростова, Смоленска, Калязина, ...

Та же картина сохраняется и в более позднее время. Упомянутый выше Часовник 1644 года, по 6 алтын 4 деньги за экземпляр, купили жители 14 городов и мест России: в Кострому и Ярославль ушло 145 Часовников; на Соловки и в Холмогоры — 88; в Псков, Вологду и Кириллов монастырь — 66 книг; в Иосифов Волоколамский монастырь — 40 книг; в Калязин и Нижний Новгород — 45 книг ...

При распродаже тиража следующего издания Часовника (15.II.1645 г., тираж 1200, цена 6 алт.) мы наблюдаем близкую картину: 319 экземпляров книги покупают жители 17 мест. Вот список первых (по количеству купленных Часовников) десяти из них: Новгород — 39, Соль Камская — 29, Суздаль — 26, Кириллов монастырь — 25, Муром — 23, Кострома — 20, Устюг Великий — 18, Тверь — 17, Владимир — 14, Холмогоры — 13.

Эта картина остается достаточно типологически точной, фактически, независимо от характера покупаемой книги. Вот, например, результаты росписи данных о продаже Соборного Уложения, которые приводит в

своей книге С. П. Луппов.¹⁹ Из 1173 проданных экземпляров книги (цена 1 рубль) более 45% купили жители почти 100 различных городов, монастырей и местечек России. На первом месте по количеству приобретенных экземпляров снова оказывается Новгород (45 книг), на втором — Рязань (44), на третьем — Смоленск (31 книга); далее идут: Ярославль, Кашира, Суздаль, Кострома, Галич, Коломна, Вологда, Казань и т.д.

Из вышеуказанных 5667 экземпляров Учебных псалтирей 1645-1649 г. в ближайшее после выхода время около 23% тиражей — 1631 книгу — купили жители 67 городов и сел буквально всей России, но основными местами аккумуляции книжных богатств в первой половине XVII века традиционно остаются те самые места, которые были названы в списках городов для развоза ранних изданий. На первом месте среди всех — костромичи: они купили в результате 32 покупок 185 книг; новгородцы приобрели 122 книги (9 покупок), вологжане купили 71 книгу (15 покупок), жители Устюга Великого приобрели 124 экземпляра и т.д.

Ведущую роль лавки Печатного двора в распространении изданных типографией книг в 30-50-х годах XVII века прекрасно фиксируют многочисленные записи на сохранившихся их экземплярах. Например, запись на 2-й части московского Пролога (вышел 6.XII.1643),²⁰ сделанная на сырной неделе в понедельник в каменной палате во дворе московского дома торговых людей Устюга Великого братьев Ревякиных сообщает что ‘книга ... взята с Печатного двора’.²¹ С Государева Печатного двора к себе домой ‘про свой домашний обиход’, взял там же Кириллову книгу и ‘овощного ряду торговый человек Микита Юрьев’.²² Старец Кириллова монастыря Иосиф Агин купил на Печатном дворе Часослов выхода 21.IX.1653 года, о чем и сделал своеручную запись, не забыв указать, что платил за книгу 1 рубль 18 алтын 2 деньги и что ‘телятина’ — т.е. кожа на переплет — стоила ему еще 7 копеек ...²³

Таким образом, записи книжных продаж на громадном, поистине для первой половины XVII века массовом материале показывают, что

¹⁹ Читатели изданий Московской типографии в середине XVII в. Публ. документов и исследование С. П. Луппова. Ленинград: Наука, 1983, с. 14.

²⁰ Поздеева И. В., Троицкий А. Н. Русская рукописная и старопечатная книга в личных собраниях: Каталог выставки. Москва: Книга, 1983, 59.

²¹ Судя по тексту записи, книга была приобретена на Печатном дворе до полного завершения работы над изданием (6.XII.1643 г.). Если в записи не была сделана ошибка (что маловероятно), Пролог на месяцы март-май куплен в 151 году, т.е. до 1.IX.1643 г. Начаты печатью два издания Пролога были 9 и 10 февраля 1643 года в Деревянных и Каменных хорах Печатного двора. Поздеева (примечание 1), 118.

²² См. Поздеева И. В., Кашикарлова И. Д., Леренман М. М. Каталог книг кириллической печати XV-XVII вв. Научной библиотеки Московского университета. Москва: Московский государственный университет, 1980, 352.

²³ Памятники письменности в музеях Вологодской области: Каталог-путеводитель. Под ред. П. А. Колесникова. Вологда, 1985. Ч. 2. Книги кириллической печати, с. 73, № 51.

печатная московская книга раскупалась достаточно быстро (а книги для обучения и очень быстро) представителями всех социальных слоев и профессий общества; расходилась по всему государству и даже за его пределы, попадая на самые далекие окраины. Благодаря работе историков и археографов, собраны многочисленные свидетельства о распространении грамотности не только в высших и средних слоях общества, но и среди крестьян. А. И. Копанев принимает для крестьянского населения черносозного Севера Руси вслед за А. И. Соболевским и А. И. Роговым цифру в 15% грамотных.²⁴ Убедительно доказывая, что собрания книг приходских церквей и некоторых монастырей, создаваемые 'миром' на деньги окружающих 'волощан' (жителей волости), служили в XVII веке и коллективными библиотеками для них, А. И. Копанев одновременно приводит и иные очень важные для раскрытия нашей темы сведения.

Используя данные писцовых книг, автор показывает, как к 70-80-м годам печатная книга фактически вытесняет письменную: в 1589-1590 годах, по данным исследователя, при описании 16 церквей Вологодского уезда, названы 72 рукописных и ни одной печатной книги; а при переписи в 1676 и 1683 годах в 7 церквях Устюжского уезда зафиксированы 169 печатных и 37 письменных (18%) книг.²⁵ Многочисленные записи XVII века на московских изданиях документально подтверждают, что книги находились во всех краях России. Например, 637 записей XVII века на 528 экземплярах печатных книг, учтенных в Каталоге Московского университета,²⁶ удостоверяют, что эти книги бытовали в то или иное время XVII века в 140 населенных пунктах и 63 монастырях России.

Громадное большинство вышеперечисленной московской печатной продукции, как явствует даже из приведенного материала, в самое ближайшее к выходу время становилось фактом и фактором современной русской культуры: образования, всестороннего религиозного и гражданского воспитания, идеологической борьбы, проповеди, душеполезного чтения, в составе тысяч библиотек церквей и монастырей в качестве их коллективной собственности. Именно эти фонды обслуживали церковные и монастырские школы, были доступны, как правило, всем инокам и светским служителям и работникам монастырей.

Не вызывает сомнения и то, что значительное количество приходских церковных библиотек, особенно на Севере, как в случае их создания 'миром' — т.е. окружающим обществом (всей волостью или более узкой группой), что и позволяло в определенном смысле считать их собствен-

²⁴ Копанев А. И. Волостные крестьянские библиотеки XVI-XVII в. — Русские библиотеки и их читатель (из истории русской культуры эпохи феодализма). Ленинград: Наука, 1983, с. 59-70.

²⁵ Копанев (примечание 24), с. 63-64.

²⁶ Поздеева, Кашкарова, Леренман (примечание 22).

ностью коллективной, так и в случае собственности строго церковной — были хотя бы отчасти доступны прихожанам. Как мы видели, в руки церкви сразу по выходе попадала только пятая, реже третья часть тиража. Остальные экземпляры издания покупались самыми разными людьми, и, в зависимости от характера книги, та или другая их часть (как правило, значительная) снова продавалась. Многие книги, очевидно, сразу приобретались для вклада в монастырь или церковь. Вклад стал чуть ли не основной, по крайней мере повсеместно, во всех кругах общества, распространенной формой богоугодного деяния, способом заслужить прощение грехов, обеспечить поминовение свое и близких после смерти, а при жизни — молитвы о здравии.

Вкладная запись — несомненно являлась, да и воспринималась как договор между бывшим хозяином и клиром ('кто сейчас и после в церкви будут священники и диаконы ...'). Собственность церкви на вложенные книги обуславливалась рядом запретов (не продавать, не закладывать, не обменивать, не выносить, часто — по книге детей не учить и т.д.) и требованием выполнения ряда условий (чаще всего, систематически возносить молитвы). Конечно, эти условия постоянно нарушались. И, тем не менее, вложенная 'на престол' книга, видимо, также никогда не ощущалась вполне 'церковной'. Недаром мы знаем такое количество фактов уничтожения при перепродаже текстов более ранних вкладных записей. Очевидно, что все это вместе взятое, так же, как и сама сущность христианского понятия Церкви — Дома Божьего на земле — во многом и создавало возможности общинного, коллективного или просто достаточно широкого пользования церковной книгой. Важно было только эту книгу в десятки тысяч церковных библиотек доставить. Вот эту-то роль и взял на себя в XVII веке Московский Печатный двор.

Однако все вышесказанное вовсе не исключало значительного количества покупок печатной книги 'в свой дом' 'для своего обиходу'. Работа с записями продаж, фиксировавшими имена покупателей многих десятков московских изданий на протяжении нескольких десятилетий, позволяет совершенно по-новому поставить проблему русских личных библиотек XVII века. Однако считать любого покупателя читателем и уже тем более хозяином библиотеки, в которую поступит приобретенная книга, невозможно. Для столь смелых выводов необходимы иные, прямые доказательства и подтверждения. Как правило, они и возникают при сопоставлении имен покупателей печатной книги с записями на сохранившихся экземплярах.

Работа с архивом Печатного двора позволила выделить несколько десятков имен 'постоянных' покупателей. Выше мы уже говорили о том, что они могут быть представителями церковных школ, торговцами, людьми, покупавшими книгу по чьим-то поручениям, и т.д. Среди них

мы находим представителей знатных фамилий государства, известных деятелей своего времени. В ряде случаев покупки книг продолжались много лет, и на смену умершему человеку в записях продаж появлялись имена его детей или вдовы. Очевидно, речь идет о наличии и пополнении (как сказали бы мы сегодня 'целенаправленном комплектовании') семейных и родовых библиотек, каковыми они в ту пору как правило и являлись. И, тем не менее, для доказательства существования такой библиотеки необходимы прямые свидетельства, которые мы, как правило, и получаем из записей на самых книгах. Семейные библиотеки, несомненно, имели в XVII веке люди самого разного социального положения. Ведь книги 'про себе' покупали и торговые люди, и рядовичи, и приказные, и служилые, городское мещанство и крепостные по своему положению, но достаточно зажиточные крестьяне. В тех же книгах продаж многократно появляются имена сторожей, поваров, садовников, ситников, низших представителей церковного клира, что лишний раз подтверждает наличие определенного числа всех типов печатных книг, а Часовников и Псалтирей — очень значительного количества — в домах широких кругов посада и деревень.

История и судьба личных библиотек России — тема иного исследования, однако вся история старообрядчества, а также блистательные страницы истории русского библиофильства связаны именно с личными библиотеками, в составе которых дошли до нас многие тысячи редчайших древних изданий. Поразительные явления возникали, когда в одном лице объединялись старообрядческие симпатии и библиофильская страсть, что, кстати, в истории последних трех веков и не такая уж редкость. Достаточно напомнить библиотеки Е. Е. Егорова, П. А. Овчинникова, нашего старшего современника М. И. Чуванова и многих других библиофилов, собиравших памятники древней печати, являясь одновременно известными представителями старообрядческого движения, в рамках истории которого и сохраняет в дальнейшем свои функции и историко-культурное значение московская дониконовская книга.

Таким образом, в течение всего XVII века сотни тысяч изданий Московского Печатного двора успешно несли свою службу на самых важных направлениях идеологической, культурной, национальной, просветительной, государственной — т.е. всей общественной жизни и духовных поисков своего времени, вызвавшего их к бытию и в значительной степени ими и определяемого. Московские печатные издания, особенно книги для обучения, имели в XVII веке еще одну важную функцию — именно они представляли Россию на Западе, служили реальному ее познанию. Очевидно, почти каждый иностранный 'гость' должен был обеспечить и себя и своих спутников, как минимум, Азбукой, Букварем, Часовником. И эти, почти 'зачитанные' в России издания, сохранились

именно на Западе. В английских библиотеках, например, хранятся учебные книги, специально для англичан написанные, или купленные в России непосредственно в годы выхода в свет.

Поразительным историческим феноменом московские печатные книги стали не только, вернее не столько, по этой причине, а потому, что почти все эти издания сохранили первоначальную функцию и продолжают быть активным инструментом жизни существенной части русского народа, обеспечивая не только духовное и нравственное содержание традиционной культуры, но и закономерность, да и саму ‘механику’ ее воспроизводства. Так называемая ‘дониконовская’ московская печатная книга обеспечивала все этапы догматического и идеологического развития старообрядчества, прошла все, без исключения, дороги его сложнейших исторических судеб.

С конца XVII века до сегодняшнего дня идет процесс аккумуляции и перераспределения старопечатной, прежде всего, московской книги в старообрядческих регионах. Структура книжности в них, в идеале, как бы повторяет феодальную Русь — когда крупные библиотеки монастырей и церквей служили цементирующим ядром широко рассеянной книжности и книжной культуры региона. Достаточно напомнить два важнейших в истории русского старообрядчества региона, Поморье и Ветковско-Стародубовские слободы, крупнейшие идеологические и культурные центры этих регионов — Выго-Лексинские и Ветковские старообрядческие монастыри. Не склонный к похвалам антистарообрядческий автор Андрей Иоаннов вынужден был написать, что такую библиотеку, как в старообрядческих выговских монастырях, ‘едва ли можно было видеть где-либо еще’, так как ‘по разнесшейся ... славе, отовсюду в короткое время натаскали ... премножество старых российских книг ... Достали они себе все это, — продолжает автор, — из наших церковных библиотек и ризниц, ежели где не покупкою, то на обмен’.²⁷ Очевидец создания выговской библиотеки Иван Филиппов писал, что сам Андрей Денисов, то с братом Симеоном, то с другими старцами ‘по всем градам, и в Москве по всем монастырям, и в Нижегородской пустыни промышляше книги ...’.²⁸ Высокую культуру книжного знания показывают множество разных источников. Изучение чуть ли не самого знаменитого произведения выговской старообрядческой мысли XVIII века — так называемых ‘Поморских ответов’, позволило идентифицировать сотни книг, прежде

²⁷ *Иоаннов А.* Полное историческое известие о древних стригольниках и новых раскольниках, так называемых старообрядцах. Санктпетербург, 1855, ч. II, с. 8.

²⁸ *Филиппов И.* История Выговской старообрядческой пустыни. Санктпетербург, 1862, с. 139.

всего ранних изданий, которыми пользовались его авторы.²⁹ В 'Поморских ответах' справедливость старообрядческих воззрений аргументируется, в том числе, авторитетом изданий 15-ти славянских и русских типографий, вышедших в свет между 1491-м и 1719-м годами: по терминологии 'Поморских ответов' 'древлепечатных' и 'старопечатных'. Знают авторы Ответов фактически все московские издания, начиная с 'древлепечатного' Апостола 1564 года до 'новопечатной' книги Барония 'Деяния церковныя и гражданския' 1719 года.

Не менее яркая картина результатов аккумуляции московской ранней печати возникает при анализе состава ведомости, составленной 18 мая 1735 года на книги, 'забранные в Ветке и других местах', когда монастыри были окружены русскими войсками, люди уведены, а 'утварь духовная всякая' увезена в Москву.³⁰

Как показала опись, в ветковском монастырском имении насчитывалось не менее 813 книг,³¹ в том числе 672 книги печатные, как правило, московской дониконовской печати. В описи указано 14 типов литургических книг, 109 печатных учебных псалтирей и 97 учебных часословов. Очевидно, это те самые издания, которые так быстро расходились при их продаже в лавке Московского Печатного двора, а в конце XVII - первой трети XVIII века аккумуляровались в руках старообрядцев.

Волна перераспределения московской печатной дониконовской книги связана с книжной справой, с церковными реформами середины века, запрещением патриаршей церкви служить по ранним изданиям. Одним из центров этого перераспределения снова становятся московские торговые ряды. Возможно, одним из первых свидетельств смены книг на новоизданные является поразительная история Минеи общей с праздничной выхода 29.VI.1650 года, найденной археографами в Пермской области. Уже в 50-х годах XVII века эта книга была снова послана в Москву попом одного из самых отдаленных русских приходов — церкви в селе Янидор Чердынского уезда Пермской земли, Сидором Ивановым. В Москве ее 'сменили' в рядах два пермских попа, получившие 'на ней 3

²⁹ См. *Беляева О. К.* Старообрядческая рукописная традиция начала XVIII в. и работа выговских книжников над Поморскими ответами. — *Источники по истории русского общественного сознания эпохи феодализма*. Новосибирск, 1986, с. 63-69; *Поздеева И. В.* Древнерусское наследие в истории традиционной книжной культуры русского старообрядчества (первый период — аккумуляция). — *Sprache, Literatur und Geschichte der Altgläubigen*. Heidelberg, 1988, pp. 224-263.

³⁰ *Лилеев М. И.* Из начальной истории раскола на Ветке и в Стародубье XVII-XVIII вв. — *Известия Историко-филологического института кн. Безбородко в Нежине*, т. XIV, 1895, с. 221, 312-325; *Поздеева И. В.* Древнерусское наследие. — *История СССР*, 1988, № 1, с. 97-99.

³¹ В Описи числится 681 книга, но 12 кругов годичных миней служебных учтены как 12 книг; то же самое относится и к иным 'многотомным' изданиям XVII в. — Прологам, Трефологионам...

рубли'.³² Волна смены дониконовских изданий на более новые широко захватила церкви и монастыри уже с конца 60-х годов XVII века, когда реформы патриарха Никона были подтверждены Собором 1666-1667 годов. Старые книги в течение многих десятилетий продаются и обмениваются тысячами по всей России, тысячами же начинают уходить на 'украины' страны — в Поморье, в Пермь, на Урал и в Сибирь, в Нижегородские места, на Керженец и Ветку. (Кроме Москвы все большее значение в этом общерусском процессе начинает играть Макарьевская ярмарка.) Меняет книга не только географическое свое положение, но, чаще всего, и социальный статус своего владельца. Именно в это время на многих ранее церковных и монастырских книгах появляются записи крестьян, мещан, купечества, ставших активными силами русского старообрядческого движения.

Ограничимся рассказом о нескольких типичных судьбах московских изданий первой половины XVII века: экземпляр Евангелия учительного 1639 года был вложен некими 'христороубцами' в муромский Преображенский монастырь, затем книга перешла в Михайловскую церковь того же города; оттуда в 1683 году поп Петр отдал книгу 'на промен ... за деньги в посад Еланку' — т.е. в одну из знаменитых в будущем старообрядческих слобод, недалеко от которой книгу и получили университетские археографы; экземпляр московского Октоиха 1618 года в 1619 году вложил в Голутвинский монастырь старец Варлам; в 1699 году игумен монастыря Нил 'променил ... старый Октай ... на нову печать' в церковь с. Мещерки, но в XVIII веке и оттуда книга была продана 'за излишество'³³; в 1681 году 'из казны' Александра-Свирского монастыря 'по брацкому велению' игумен продал московский Требник 1625 года некоему 'тихвинцу'³⁴; Минею на январь в издании 1622 года — вложенную кн. Д. М. Пожарским в 1626 году в Желтоводский монастырь, в XVIII веке совсем в иных краях подписывает дьячок 'Лазарка', а затем 'чухломец, посадцкой человек Петрушка Смирин'.³⁵

Было бы недопустимым преувеличением считать, что в XVIII веке все или основная часть находящихся в руках церкви дониконовских изданий была ею утрачена. Процесс этот продолжался еще и весь XIX век, когда наряду со старообрядческими общинами этот источник питал широко развивавшееся собирательство и библиофильство. И еще в XX веку хватило церковных книжных богатств на уничтожение. Символично точно характеризует судьбу древних печатных книг в XVII-XVIII веках история еще одного экземпляра московского Учительного Евангелия

³² Поздеева, Кашкарлова, Леренман (примечание 22), с. 300, № 205.

³³ Поздеева, Троицкий (примечание 20), 46.

³⁴ Поздеева, Кашкарлова, Леренман (примечание 22), 157.

³⁵ Поздеева, Кашкарлова, Леренман (примечание 22), 128.

1639 года, также найденного археографами в Пермской области. В 1652 году книгу вложила в Москве по душе подъячего Приказа Большого Дворца Любима Асманова его вдова Марья. Асманов — хорошо известная сегодня археографам фигура, т.к. именно он в 20-30 годах XVII века подписывал книжные вклады царя Михаила Федоровича, и книг с его своеручной подписью найдено в последние годы довольно много. Не раз появляется в эти годы имя подъячего и в росписях продаж — Приходных книгах Печатного двора. Запись Марьи Асмановой, однако, оказалась зачеркнутой, судя по цвету чернил, человеком, сделавшим в 1735 году следующую запись на экземпляре. Ее автор и новый хозяин книги — русский купец из города Рыльска, Яков Иванович Мальцев. Он пишет, что купил книгу в прусском городе Кенигсберге у члена Прусской Академии наук академика Василия Квассовского (который был известен в то время еще и как издатель различных книг, в том числе календарей). Яков объяснил и причину покупки — удивление и возмущение, что столь ценная книга находится в доме академика в недостаточной с его, Мальцева, точки зрения, ‘чести’. Как истинный купец, он указывает и за сколько купил Евангелие — за 25 гульденов — т.е. 5 русских рублей. Завершает свою запись Яков Мальцев хвалой древней книге — ‘златому бисеру’, который должен быть возвращен на родину и окружен там вниманием и почтением.

В фактах этой записи, как в капле воды, — и новая Россия, открытая Западу и открытая на Запад, спокойно, ради нового, отбрасывающая часть своего прошлого, и те силы, которые готовы были это прошлое спасти и хранить в условиях новой эпохи и нового времени.

Таким образом, именно на конец XVII и первую треть XVIII веков приходится один из периодов самой интенсивной аккумуляции древней книги всеми представителями старообрядческого движения, когда древняя и, прежде всего, широко доступная московская дониконовская печатная книга стала основой и духовной консолидации сторонников старой веры и осмысления ими своей ‘особенности’, ‘исключительности’, почти типологическим признаком ее адептов.

Переход древних печатных и рукописных книг в руки старообрядчества активно продолжался и весь XIX век, меняя только свое направление и интенсивность. В это время, особенно во второй половине века, широко прослеживается и очередное перераспределение накопленных книжных богатств уже внутри самого старообрядчества, в зависимости от характера преследований со стороны церковных и светских властей, затухания многих старых и возникновения новых его центров в разных местах Руси — от окраин тогдашней Москвы до самых дальних порубежных окраин государства. И где бы ни возникали новые старообрядческие поселения, именно туда начинают постепенно собираться древние книги — залог

сохранения 'отеческой' традиционной веры и культуры. Глубокий принципиальный традиционализм, ставший основой существования и выживания 'древлеотеческой' веры в той форме, как ее понимало каждое из многих возникших и укоренившихся уже направлений (согласий) старообрядчества, опирался на древнюю книгу как на непререкаемый, и в 'атихристово' время единственный, авторитет. Именно в рамках замкнутых старообрядческих групп, общин, иногда целых районов компактного заселения, дониконовская московская книга никогда не меняла своих первоначальных функций и сохраняет их поныне: она используется для всех видов общественного и домашнего богослужения и чтения; по ней учат грамоте и вере, в ней искали, ищут и находят ответы на вопросы, которые задает не только вера, но и бесконечно изменяющаяся жизнь. Там, где сложные и трагические судьбы не пощадили ни хозяев, ни самих книг, используются их многочисленные перепечатки, которые, как верят их хозяева, сделаны 'буква в букву' с древних 'выходов', или списки с тех же источников.

Громадное влияние оказала московская печатная дониконовская книга и на характер поздней рукописной кириллической традиции. Высокое качество шрифтов этих изданий; то, что они являлись обобщением и развитием лучших образцов среднерусских рукописных памятников, и обеспечило длительность и глубину этого влияния. Оно прекрасно прослеживается и в местной верхокамской книге, которую мы знаем, по крайней мере, с конца XVIII века. Прежде всего, особый авторитет и знание московской книги отразились в местной манере письма: писцы второй половины XIX-начала XX века ('мастер Сергей', Никита Сабуров, Алексей Мальцев, Григорий Мелехин и другие)³⁶ умели не только копировать книги Печатного двора, но и работать в стиле изданий определенного времени, подражая манере оформления московских книг 20-40-х годов XVII века. Даже независимо от искусства писца, в списках (чаще всего Учебных псалтирей) легко определить, что образцом для него, или непосредственно копируемым, или дающим представление об идеале 'достойной', а главное 'истинной' книги, является московская печатная книга (в том числе и издания Василия Бурцова).

Книги в ряде старообрядческих районов, так же как упомянутые выше библиотеки приходских церквей, в основном являлись и сегодня еще остаются коллективной собственностью религиозной общины или 'собора'. Их общественная принадлежность и святость неоднократно подтверждалась соответствующими соборными решениями и документами,

³⁶ См. Поздеева И. В. Верещагинское территориальное книжное собрание и проблемы истории духовной культуры русского старообрядчества. — Русские письменные и устные традиции и духовная культура. Москва, 1982, с. 40-71.

которые в той или иной форме утверждали, что 'Сии книги божественные положены бес денег и бес цены, и никому их не продавать и не закладывать',³⁷ а 'охранение' их, так же как и 'охранение церкви' 'должны знать свято и ненаруσιμο' специально 'поставленные' для этого отцы.

Как сложится дальнейшая судьба этого уникального исторического феномена, когда самое уязвимое в человеческой культуре — книга — олицетворяет не в переносном, а в прямом смысле вечность Слова, в которое верят многие люди. Несомненно одно, что долгожданная свобода совести, при ее реальном осуществлении, не оставит и традиционный старообрядческий мир неподвижным. Однако свою поразительную историческую роль московская печатная книга уже сыграла.

³⁷ Московский государственный университет, Научная библиотека им. А. М. Горького, Верхокамское собрание, № 1685/5.

Ukrainian Early-Printed Books: Collections and Collecting

Iaroslav D. Isaievych

The oldest known collections of Ukrainian early-printed books are those of monastery, parish and diocesan libraries. Most of them have not survived, but in some cases we have catalogues or inventories of their holdings. For example, an inventory of books owned by the Scete of Maniava (founded in 1612, closed in 1785) was found recently. Also extant are inventories of Basilian libraries in Galicia compiled by the Austrian authorities after the secularization of monastic properties in the late eighteenth century.

Until the late eighteenth century, books were collected mainly for practical purposes, although in some cases they were also used for scholarly research. Thus the Ukrainian scholar and writer Zakharia Kopystens'kyi (d. 1627) wrote that he looked for old books in many churches and monasteries. He used old books, specifically those printed by Schweipolt Fiol in the late fifteenth century in Cracow, in order to prove the Byzantine roots of Ukrainian civilization. From the library of the Lviv Stauropegion Confraternity the Kiev editors of St John Chrysostom's homilies borrowed the best edition of Chrysostom's Greek original published by Sir Henry Savile in Eton in 1610–12.¹ It should be added that a large part of the collections of the Lviv Stauropegion Confraternity are now in the Lviv State Historical Museum, but this copy of the Eton edition of St John Chrysostom's works has not been preserved.

In Western Europe, Ukrainian books were, for the most part, collected by two groups, namely those persons who acquired foreign books as specimens of exotic scripts and those who gathered translations of Holy Scripture. Many copies of the Ostrih Bible of 1581 are kept in specialized collections of editions of the Bible. For example, the copy which is now in the Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, was acquired together with the famous collection of Bibles in many languages formerly owned by Josiah Lorck (died 1758), a German pastor in Copenhagen.² One of three extant copies of the Psalter and Book of Hours published by Hryhor Khadkevich and printed by Ivan Fedorov in Zabludau in 1570 is preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace in London. Its binding bears the armorial book-stamp of the Archbishop of Canterbury Richard Bancroft (1544–1610) who collected editions of the Bible

¹ See Ia. Isaevich, *Preemniki pervopechatnika* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 56–57.

² On this and other copies of Ivan Fedorov's imprints, see Ia. Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna Ivana Fedorova* (Lviv, 1989).

for the revision of the English translation of Holy Scripture.³ Most copies of Church Slavonic primers have been preserved only in Western collections. There are only two copies of the first Cyrillic Primer (Lviv, 1574): one was brought to Italy and later acquired by the Harvard College Library, and the other was bought in 1982 by the British Library from a private collection in England.⁴ The only complete copy of the Ostrih Greek–Church Slavonic Primer (Azbuka) of 1578 is in the collection of the German orientalist Elias Hutter (now in the Gotha Research Library, Germany).⁵

The scholarly study of old imprints began in the Ukraine only in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The Kiev Archeographical Commission, established in 1843, initiated a systematic search for rare manuscripts and early-printed books. Some institutions (the libraries of the Kiev Theological Academy and the Orthodox seminaries in the Eastern Ukraine, the Stauropegion Institute in Lviv, and the Peremyshl Chancery Library) augmented their collections of early-printed books through donations from private persons, mostly village priests. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, diocesan archeological committees and societies collected various artefacts. In several Orthodox dioceses local museums were founded and some of them gathered important collections of old imprints from churches and monasteries. Such collections, including books found in a particular area, were important for the study of regional aspects of intellectual history. In Galicia, the collection of the central Basilian library and archives incorporated rare-book collections from several monasteries, though many important imprints remained in the particular monasteries.

The most active collectors of Ukrainian early-printed books were Platon Lukashevych (1806–1887) in the Left Bank Ukraine (some of his printed books and his entire collection of manuscripts are now in the Lenin Library in Moscow), Konstanty Świdziński (1793–1855) in the Right Bank Ukraine (his collection was destroyed in Warsaw during the uprising in 1944), and Anton Petrushevych (1821–1913) in Galicia (his collection constitutes a separate section in the V. Stefanyk Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lviv). Perhaps the most important was the collecting activity of Ilarion Svientsits'kyi (1876–1956) on behalf of the National Museum in Lviv which was founded and sponsored by Count Andrei Sheptyts'kyi (1865–1944), Metropolitan of the Greek-Catholic Church. Professor Svientsits'kyi not only found many unique copies of early imprints in Ukrainian villages but

³ J. S. G. Simmons, 'Early-Printed Cyrillic Psalters at Lambeth and Valletta', *Solanus*, no. 3 (July 1968), pp. 10, 11.

⁴ C. Thomas, 'Two East Slavonic Primers, Lvov, 1574 and Moscow, 1634', *The British Library Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 32–47.

⁵ H. Grasshoff and J. S. G. Simmons, 'Ein unbekannter Druck Ivan Fedorovs aus dem Jahre 1578', *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, 1968, no. 4, pp. 512–17.

also acquired many books from antiquarian book dealers in the Ukraine and Russia. His aim was for the museum to hold specimens from all Cyrillic printing presses: not only Ukrainian but also Russian, Belorussian, South Slavonic and Rumanian. Svientsits'kyi also produced a catalogue of the rare-book collection in the National Museum, including in his description such peculiarities of copies as typographical variants, forms of binding, and marginalia.⁶ In many cases he also provided information concerning the provenance of particular copies.

After 1917, many important private book collections were destroyed during the confiscation of their owners' property. Especially tragic was the fate of collections in provincial monasteries and noblemen's residences, many of which were set on fire. In most cases, those private book collections survived which were transferred to the large public libraries, while books deposited in smaller provincial museums were often eventually lost. Many Cyrillic imprints confiscated by the state were sold in the 1930s through 'Mezhdunarodnaia Kniga' to foreign book collectors or book dealers. In this way, copies of old Ukrainian books were bought by Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi and by some Western libraries, including the Königsberg University Library (some books from this library are now in the National Library in Warsaw), the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress.

The concentration of many copies of one edition in a single repository sometimes facilitated bibliographical studies. For example, Antonina Zernova reconstructed the history of the publication of the Ostrih Bible on the basis of a comparison of typographical variants found in thirty-one copies of this book. The Kiev librarian Borys Zdanevych found in the binding of a sixteenth-century book that came from a private collection to the Ukrainian Public Library (now known as V. I. Vernads'kyi Central Scholarly Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR) a copy of a previously unknown Gutenberg edition, the *Provinciale Romanum*.⁷

The most important collections of old Ukrainian imprints are now owned by the largest state libraries and museums in the Ukraine (V. I. Vernads'kyi Central Scholarly Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, V. Stefanyk Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv, Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art, Lviv State Historical Museum, V. Korolenko State Scientific Library in Kharkiv)⁸ as well as in Russia (Lenin Library and State Historical Museum in Moscow, Saltykov-Shchedrin Library and the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR

⁶ I. Svientsits'kyi, *Kataloh knyh tserkovno-slavianskoi pechaty* (Zhovkva, 1908).

⁷ B. Zdanevych, *Kataloh inkunabul* (Kiev, 1974).

⁸ Ia. Isaievych, 'Sammlungen alter Drucke in der Ukrainischen SSR', *Marginalien*. Herausgegeben von der Pirckheimer-Gesellschaft, Heft 88 (1982), pp. 10–15.

in Leningrad) and in Poland (National Library in Warsaw, Ossoliński Library in Wrocław, the Jagellonian University Library in Cracow). It is a pity that the Peremyshl (Przemyśl) Greek-Catholic Chancery Library, which incorporated one of the oldest Ukrainian book collections, was, after confiscation by the Polish state, divided among several repositories. Most of the Cyrillic imprints in Church Slavonic and Ukrainian were transferred to the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw, while most books in Latin script were sent to the library of the Catholic University in Lublin. Some books, however, remained in Przemyśl—in the local museum and in the state archives. The library catalogues are also located in the Przemyśl archives. Among the items which were lost is a manuscript book previously owned by the Uniate bishop Lev Kiszka containing copies of chronicles and other historical material.

Collections of rare Ukrainian books in Poland, Slovakia, Rumania and Hungary were acquired mostly from Greek-Catholic and Orthodox churches in these countries. The collections of the Library of the Rumanian Academy in Bucharest, the Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok, Poland, and the Greek-Catholic Academy in Nyíregyháza, Hungary, are worth mentioning. Many important rare Ukrainian books are in the libraries of Austria, Italy, Germany, Britain and other countries. Some copies have been found in such unexpected places as the Royal Library in Malta and the Book Museum in Puerto Rico. Of special interest are books and collections which have been brought to Canada and the USA by Ukrainian immigrants. For example, in the diocesan Ukrainian Museum in Stamford, Connecticut, there is a copy of Fiol's Lenten Triodion brought to the US by Constantine Bohachevs'kyi, who later became a Greek-Catholic bishop. He had found this book in a village church in Galicia where his father had served as a priest. Interesting collections of books from early Ukrainian presses are gathered in the museum attached to the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic, New Jersey.⁹ The University of Toronto Library bought the Ukrainian portion of the book collection of Paul M. Fekula.¹⁰ Many interesting Cyrillic early-printed books are in a private collection in Philadelphia. In addition to rare Russian editions (Ivan Fedorov's *Apostol* of 1564) and Belorussian ones (the *Mamonichi Apostol* and an edition of Maksim Voshchanka), this collection includes relatively rare Ukrainian imprints, for example the above-mentioned Kiev publication of St John Chrysostom's *Homilies on the Pauline Epistles* (1623). Professor Iraida Gerus-Tarnawecka recently described Cyrillic manuscripts

⁹ B. Struminskyj, *Old Ruthenian Printed Books and Manuscripts in the Episcopal and Heritage Institute Libraries of the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Passaic*, with a preface by E. Kasinec (s.l., 1980).

¹⁰ E. Kasinec and B. Struminskyj, *The Millennium Collection of Old Ukrainian Books at the University of Toronto Library* (Toronto, 1984).

and early printed books in Canadian repositories. Among them are books that were imported during the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada (for example, most books in the museum attached to the Basilian monastery in Mundare, Alberta) and books gathered by post-war immigrants (the most important is the collection of Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohiienko), now located in St Andrew's College in Winnipeg).¹¹ Some copies of books brought by early immigrants contain interesting marginalia concerning cultural activities of parishes, confraternities and community schools.

The current upsurge of political life in the Ukraine was preceded by a cultural revival. This also contributed to the growth of public interest in all kinds of national antiquities, including early-printed books. The recently founded State Museum of the Book and Printing in Kiev (located on the premises of the printing press of the Kievan Caves Monastery) and the Ivan Fedorov Museum in Lviv began to form specialized collections devoted to the history of Ukrainian book publishing. Some Russian libraries are augmenting their holdings of old books by organizing archeographical expeditions, during which they find not only Russian but often also Ukrainian early-printed books. The most interesting findings have been made by the expeditions of the Moscow Lomonosov State University under the guidance of Irina Vasil'evna Pozdeeva. The main part of the acquisitions of the rare book division of the Moscow Lomonosov State University Library is excellently described in the catalogue of its collection of Cyrillic imprints.¹² Many copies of early Ukrainian printed books have also been found in the Urals and Siberia.

The beginning of a new wave of old book collecting in the Ukraine can be traced approximately to the 1970s. For many collectors of icons books are an additional object of interest. Some liturgical books that until recently were kept in the churches are now in the hands of collectors. Some of them have been sold or donated to public repositories. It should be added that among old-book collectors are persons having scholarly interests in the subject as well as commercially oriented dealers. The prices of old Cyrillic church books have risen considerably during recent years.

Collecting by museums and public organizations such as the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical Monuments and the Ukrainian Cultural Fund is on the upsurge. Several libraries and museums have published catalogues of their holdings. The bibliography of books published in the Ukraine in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries contains

¹¹ See I. Gerus-Tarnawecka, *East Slavic Cyrillica in Canadian Repositories: Cyrillic Manuscripts and Early Printed Books* (Winnipeg: Society of Volyn, 1981).

¹² I. V. Pozdeeva, I. D. Kashkarova and M. M. Lerenman, *Katalog knig kirillicheskoï pechaty XV–XVII vv. Nauchnoi biblioteki Moskovskogo universiteta* (Moscow, 1980).

information on specific copies only for the most rare editions.¹³ The catalogue of *Ucrainica* planned by the V. I. Vernads'kyi Central Scholarly Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and the Union Catalogue of Cyrillic books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries published by the International Commission (chairman Professor Evgenii L'vovich Nemirovskii) will include descriptions of all known copies.¹⁴ It would be important to prepare a computerized database for old Cyrillic imprints which will not only help further cataloguing but will also provide book collectors with a convenient and reliable reference tool.

¹³ Ia. Zapasko and Ia. Isaievyh, *Pamiatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva: Kataloh starodrukiv vydanykh na Ukraini*, 2 vols. (Lviv, 1981-1984).

¹⁴ *V pomoshch' sostaviteliu Svodnogo kataloga staropechatnykh izdaniu kirillovskogo i glagolicheskogo shrifto*, pod obshchei redaktsiei E. L. Nemirovskogo (Moscow, 1980).

Зимнедворские библиотеки

В. И. Федорова

История возникновения музейной научной библиотеки Государственного Эрмитажа тесно связана с зимнедворскими коллекциями книг, возникшими более двухсот лет тому назад. Однако отождествлять эти собрания не следует, так как они существовали обособленно и то сливали свои фонды воедино, то вновь образовывали самостоятельные книжные хранилища. Судьба этих библиотек полностью зависела от воли и прихотей членов царствующего дома Романовых, для которых Зимний дворец являлся резиденцией с середины XVIII до начала XX века.

Первые упоминания о книжных собраниях во дворце относятся к 1762 году. После смерти Елизаветы Петровны, так и не жившей в апартаментах для нее строившихся, все предназначенные для императрицы помещения в юго-восточном ризалите, выходящие окнами на площадь и Миллионную улицу, были переделаны по приказу Петра III, который выбрал их для своего проживания. После 'освещения' дворца в августе 1762 года, когда внутренняя отделка не была еще полностью закончена архитектором Ф. Б. Растрелли, главному библиотекарю двора Якову Штелину поручается устройство книгохранилища 'в мезонине его [архитектора] нового зимнего дворца в Петербурге, для чего были назначены четыре большие комнаты и две для самого библиотекаря'.¹

Библиотека соседствовала с угловой 'ординарной опочивальней' и выходила окнами на площадь² (ныне залы 277-280). В этих ранее других отделанных комнатах были прекрасные штучные полы, живописные плафоны и десюдепорты. С апреля по октябрь 1762 года библиотечные шкафы этих комнат вероятнее всего заполняли книги, привезенные из Германии и унаследованные Петром III от отца — герцога Карла-Фридриха Голштинского.

'Когда была привезена из Киля в Петербург герцогская библиотека, — вспоминал Я. Штелин, — он, поручая ее моему смотрению, приказал мне, чтоб я велел сделать красивые шкафы и поставил их в особых комнатах дворца.'³ Известно, что среди этих книг были издания по военному делу и военной истории, фортификации, путеводители по

¹ Эрмитаж. История и архитектура зданий. Ленинград, 1974, с. 63; Суслов В. А. Зимний дворец. 1754-1927. Исторический очерк. Ленинград, 1928, с. 16.

² Башуцкий А. П. Возобновление Зимнего дворца в Санкт-Петербурге. Санктпетербург, 1839, с. 26.

³ Записки Штелина об императоре Петра III. — Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете, т. IV, 1866, с. 71.

немецким городам, а также произведения классиков античности, сочинения французских просветителей и издания по искусству.

Со второй половины 1762 года уже по приказу Екатерины II во дворце начинаются значительные перестройки в том числе и в личных покоях. Гольштинская библиотека переводится в Ораниенбаум. По новой планировке повседневные спальни, будуар и кабинет императрицы размещаются в том же юго-восточном крыле дворца, что и прежние жилые комнаты Петра III. Разнообразные по размерам жилища, сохраняя парадность, становятся более уютными, благодаря глубоким нишам и закругленным углам помещений. Ниши украшаются крашеной под бронзу скульптурой. В этих покоях библиотеке, которая станет именоваться 'комнатной', отводится обширное помещение с антресолю рядом с кабинетом (ныне зал № 274), соседствующим в свою очередь с угловым будуаром (ныне залы №№ 275, 276). Все библиотечные шкафы (и те, что находились в кабинете) располагались вдоль свободных от окон стен и были оборудованы хитроумными устройствами, позволяющими без особого труда доставать книги, находящиеся на любом уровне.

С годами книжное собрание разрастается и требует новых помещений. В 1775 году основная библиотека переводится на антресоли Овального зала Старого Эрмитажа (над вторым этажом нынешней Советской лестницы).

Часть книг 'комнатной' библиотеки остается в жилых покоях и на антресолях. Нередко книги сопровождают императрицу в путешествиях. Подтверждение тому находим в дневниках секретаря Екатерины II А. В. Храповицкого. 14 апреля 1788 года он, например, пишет: 'Приказано купить переводы с древних авторов и на другой или третий день праздника перевозить комнатную библиотеку в Царское Село.' В заметке от 17 апреля 1793 года читаем: 'Позван поутру и мне сказано, что переедут после обеда в Таврический дворец. Тут же назначено, какие бумаги и книги должен я сам туда перевезти.' В записи от 23 апреля 1793 года значится: 'Спрошен по утру. Приказали собрать книги и после обеда переехали из Таврического в Зимний Дворец.' И далее — 12 мая 1793 года — он пишет: 'После обеда переехали в Царское Село. Мне никакого приказания не было, но камердинеры прислали ночью сказать, чтоб, собрав все бумаги и книги, постарался скорее доставить.'⁴

В 1790 году основной фонд екатерининского собрания книг был перемещен под лоджии Рафаэля. Известно, что с 1783 по 1790 годы архитектор Д. Кваренги строит здание вдоль Зимней канавки. 'Для эрмитажной библиотеки были отданы в первом этаже четыре помеще-

⁴ Храповицкий А. В. Дневник А. В. Храповицкого 1782-1793. Санктпетербург, 1874, с. 57, 285, 287.

ния: длинная галерея под Рафаэлевскими лоджиями и три зала вдоль этой галереи, выходившие окнами во двор.’⁵ Уже в сентябре 1790 года Екатерина II не без гордости пишет Ф. М. Гримму: ‘Мой музей в эрмитаже состоит, кроме картин и лож Рафаэля, из 38 тысяч книг, четыре комнаты полны книг, гравюр Мой маленький уголок таков, что пройти туда из моей комнаты составляет три тысячи шагов, там я гуляю среди множества предметов, которые люблю и которыми наслаждаюсь.’⁶

Как же формировалась и из каких книг состояла библиотека Екатерины II? Известно, что еще будучи великой княгиней она уделяла много времени чтению. Прежде всего она начала собирать сочинения по русской истории, переводы с древних авторов, различного рода хроники, а также манускрипты и рукописные пьесы преимущественно на немецком и французском языках. ‘Она очень была разборчива в своих чтениях, — читаем в записках одного из ее статс-секретарей А. М. Грибовского, — не любила ничего ни грустного, ни слишком нежного, ни утонченностей ума и чувств. Любила романы Лесажа, сочинения Мольера и Корнеля. ‘Расин не мой автор, — говорила она, — исключая Митридата’, некогда Рабеле и Скарон ее забавляли, но после она не могла об них вспомнить. Она мало помнила грустное и маловажное, но ничего не забыла достопамятного. Любила Плутарха, переведенного Амиотом, Тацита Амелотом дела-Гуисай и Монтеня.’ И далее А. М. Грибовской вспоминал: ‘Императрица знала почти наизусть: Перикла, Ликурга, Солона, Монтескю, Локка и славные времена Афин, Спарты, Рима, новой Италии и Франции.’⁷ Сообразно вкусам своим собирала она и свою библиотеку в Зимнем дворце. На полках ее ‘комнатной’ библиотеки можно было найти сочинения всех вышеназванных авторов.

Одной из характерных черт екатерининской библиотеки был ее необычайно быстрый рост. Издания поступали во дворец через книгопродавцов, дипломатов, художников и даже философов. Желая прослыть в глазах просвещенной Европы образованной монархиней, ‘философом на троне’, Екатерина II с большим усердием занималась самообразованием, имела переписку с лучшими представителями европейской прогрессивной мысли. В 1773 году она знакомится с дипломатом и писателем Фридрихом Мельхиором Гриммом, одним из первых литературных хроникеров XVIII века, лично знавшим Руссо, Дидро, Д’Аламбера и других энциклопедистов. На протяжении двадцати двух лет Ф. М. Гримм является корреспондентом и комиссионером русской императрицы, способствует

⁵ Вольценбург О. Э. Внутренний вид Эрмитажной библиотеки времени А. С. Пушкина. — Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа, IV, 1947, с. 19.

⁶ Грот Я. К. Екатерина II в переписке с Гриммом. Санктпетербург, 1879, с. 84.

⁷ Грибовский А. М. Записки об императрице Екатерине Великой. Москва, 1864, с. 39, 43.

росту ее художественного и книжного собраний. Именно при его посредничестве в 1776 году для русского двора приобретаетя библиотека аббата Галиани, автора политико-экономических сочинений, секретаря неаполитанского посольства, который долгое время жил в Париже, был знаком с энциклопедистами и одним из первых начал разрабатывать археологические богатства Геркуланума. Екатерина II мечтала о приобретении его коллекции книг. Она завязывает с аббатом переписку и тот начинает присылать интересующие ее книги. 'Его присылка книг доставила мне большое удовольствие, — читаем в одном из писем Екатерины II 1770-х годов к Ф. М. Гримму; — я с ума схожу от архитектурных книг: вся комната моя ими завалена, а мне все еще не довольно. Теперь Пиранези очень в моде. Жаль, что его только пятнадцать томов.'⁸ В 1776 году она пишет тому же адресату: 'Я велела послать в Ливорно Ганнибалу [адмиралу] 5750 французских ливров на книги аббата Галиани. Пришлите мне их пожалуйста и примите мою благодарность за предложение.' И далее, в другом письме, датированном тем же годом: 'Библиотека Галиани очень часто утешает меня: за час до обеда я иду посетить ее и как маленькие дети рассматриваю там ее эстампы, чтоб вынести оттуда меду в свой улей.'⁹ Сравнительно небольшая по объему (около 1000 томов) эта библиотека была ценна тем, что состояла в основном из сочинений по археологии и изобразительному искусству. Именно из книг Галиани в собрании эрмитажной библиотеки по сей день находится уникальная в стране серия изданий Витрувия, состоящая из пятнадцати томов, самый ранний из которых датируется 1511 годом.

Очень значительным приобретением для русской придворной библиотеки была покупка книг у наследников Вольтера. После его смерти в 1778 году Екатерина II пишет Ф. М. Гримму: '... но если возможно, купите его библиотеку и все оставшиеся после него бумаги, включая и мои письма. Я щедро заплачу его наследникам, которые, полагаю, всему этому не знают цены.'¹⁰ Распорядившись о фернейской библиотеке, она высылает Ф. М. Гримму задаток в 30.000 франков и пишет далее: 'Вы мне также доставите большое удовольствие, если приобретете у Крамера — женевского книгопродавца — не только самое полное издание его сочинений, но даже до последнего памфлета, вышедшего из-под его пера. Я устрою особую залу, где помещу его произведения.'¹¹ Считая себя ученицей великого Вольтера, она заказывает сто полных экземпляров нового издания его сочинений и высокопарно комментирует это свое предприятие

⁸ Грот (примечание 6), с. 82.

⁹ Письма Екатерины II к Гримму. — Сборник Русского исторического общества, т. 23, 1878, с. 268.

¹⁰ Грот (примечание 6), с. 66.

¹¹ Грот (примечание 6), с. 66.

в одном из посланий Ф. М. Гримму: 'Это образует граждан, гениев, героев и писателей, это разовьет сто тысяч талантов, которые иначе потеряются во тьме невежества.'¹² В 1779 году двенадцать ящиков, упакованных секретарем и библиотекарем Вольтера Ж.-Л. Ваньером, прибывают в Петербург. Одновременно с книгами макет Фернейского замка заказывается, а племяннице М. А. Вольтера посылаются щедрые подарки, среди которых портрет русской императрицы, бриллианты и дорогая шуба.

Вольтеровская библиотека сохранялась в Зимнем дворце очень бережно. 'Многочисленные бумажные закладки, рассеянные по томам, употреблявшимися Вольтером для исследований, были на своих местах и ветхость этих согнутых и искривленных закладок могла служить доказательством, что они те самые, которые с давних времен были вкладываемы Вольтером.'¹³ К книгам Вольтера более полувека с момента их приобретения не допускались читатели. Только А. С. Пушкин с 1832 года был единственным русским официально допущенным к фондам этой библиотеки, когда работал над историей Петра I. В настоящее время вольтеровские книги хранятся в Государственной публичной библиотеке им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. Передача эта была осуществлена по предписанию из придворного ведомства в 1861 году.

Та же судьба постигла и библиотеку Дени Дидро, приобретенную еще при жизни философа в 1765 году, но поступившую в фонды дворцовой библиотеки лишь после его смерти спустя двадцать лет. Все эти годы Д. Дидро получал от русского двора жалование как библиотекарь собственной библиотеки, а его вдова была награждена пенсией, которая была выплачена ей единовременно за пять лет в размере 200 рублей в год.¹⁴ 'Было бы жестоко разлучать ученого с его книгами', — объясняла свой поступок Д'Аламберу Екатерина II.¹⁵ Впоследствии библиотека Дидро оказалась распыленной по ряду книгохранилищ и в настоящее время советскими и французскими учеными предпринимаются попытки ее восстановления.

В 1780-е годы Екатерина II задумывает составить 'Сравнительный словарь всех языков и наречий'. В 1784 году она пишет Ф. М. Гримму: 'Я велела доставить себе столько лексиконов различных языков, сколько можно было отыскать их, между прочим: финский, черемисский, вотяцкий и все мои столы ими завалены.'¹⁶ Одним из помощников ее в этом

¹² Грот (примечание 6), с. 69.

¹³ Жиль Ф. А. Музей Императорского Эрмитажа. Санктпетербург, 1861, с. 128, 129.

¹⁴ Письма Екатерины II (примечание 9), с. 273.

¹⁵ Бумаги императрицы Екатерины II, т. 1. — Сборник Русского исторического общества, т. 7, 1871, с. 45.

¹⁶ Письма Екатерины II (примечание 9), с. 241.

начинании становится берлинский книгопродавец Христофор Фридрих Николай, который составляет для нее 'Общее обозрение всех языков мира' и, кроме того, за три года, с 1783 по 1786 год, собирает для русского двора обширное собрание в 13 тысяч томов немецких книг в основном исторического содержания, а также книг по топографии, географии, философии и рукописных источников. В 1786 году коллекция прибывает в Петербург и впоследствии получает название 'Отделение императорского книгохранилища', но чаще называется 'Николаево' или 'немецкое' отделение. В конце XIX века она также почти полностью уходит в Петербургскую публичную библиотеку.

В 1793 году у вдовы известного русского историка князя Михаила Михайловича Щербатова приобретает прекрасное собрание исторических изданий, древнерусских рукописей и манускриптов. Сегодня в библиотеке Эрмитажа насчитывается лишь несколько экземпляров из бывшего щербатовского собрания, имеющих характерный для всех книг этой коллекции папочный переплет, оклеенный светлорозовой бумагой с корешком и уголками коричневой кожи. Основной фонд коллекции ушел из Эрмитажа в XIX веке как дублетный. Годом ранее в 1792 году из Ораниенбума в Петербург возвращается собрание книг голштинского герцога. В настоящее время в фондах Публичной библиотеки в Ленинграде обнаружено значительное число томов, значившихся ранее в описях книжного собрания Петра III.

Таким образом, к 1790-м годам екатерининская библиотека представляла собою обширный фонд, в основе которого находились все вышеназванные крупные коллекции. Но поток книг из-за границы не иссякал. Приведем еще один отрывок из письма русской императрицы Ф. М. Гримму, датированный 1791 годом для того, чтобы составить представление о грандиозности этих книжных пополнений. 'Три дня сряду дождем сыплются на меня грамоты, бюллетени, портрет Менгса, бесчисленное множество книг, — не без хвастовства писала Екатерина II. — Пришли четыре почты, задержанные противным ветром, прискакали три или четыре курьера изо всех стран и уголков света, все стеклось так, что на десяти больших столах едва уместается вся эта громада, и вот уже три дня, как четыре человека по очереди читают мне все это с шести часов утра до шести часов вечера.'¹⁷

Известно, что для Екатерины II был создан экслибрис¹⁸ который, однако, так и не попал на ее книги, потому основным источником и

¹⁷ Письма Екатерины II (примечание 9), с. 330.

¹⁸ Верещагин В. А. Русский экслибрис. Санктпетербург, 1903, с. 83.

опознавательным знаком изданий ее собрания могут отчасти служить переплеты, характерные именно для второй половины XVIII века: красные сафьяновые с золотым тиснением, узорные, тисненные бумажные, а также атласные или шелковые. По предварительным данным в настоящее время в эрмитажной библиотеке насчитывается лишь около тысячи экземпляров екатерининских книг и рукописей.

Помимо екатерининских библиотек в стенах дворца к концу XVIII века зарождается собрание книг будущего императора Павла I. Еще при жизни Екатерины II семья Павла занимала во дворце ряд комнат бельэтажа, выходивших окнами на Адмиралтейство. Эти западные апартаменты получили название 'половина наследника'. Впоследствии все члены монаршей семьи жили в Зимнем дворце каждый на своей 'половине', т.е. в помещениях, которые были связаны общим местонахождением, единым назначением и архитектурно-декоративным решением. Как правило, в каждой такой 'половине' при новой их перепланировке и переделке предусматривалась специальная комната для библиотеки, реже библиотечные шкафы размещались в кабинетах и даже спальнях. Возникшая в 1760-е годы библиотека маленького наследника представляла собою коллекцию книг, состоявшую из учебников, словарей, лексиконов, сочинений французских и немецких авторов, книг по русской и древней классической истории, архитектурных альбомов и философских трактатов. В 1764 году, по свидетельству С. А. Порошина, воспитателя и учителя математики будущего императора, эта библиотека была перевезена в Зимний дворец из деревянного Зимнего Дома и вначале размещалась в жилых комнатах на 'половине наследника'. 'Окончив игру, — записывает в своем дневнике С. А. Порошин 9 сентября 1764 года, — изволил великий князь сам распоряжаться и устанавливать комнатную свою библиотеку в опочивальне.' В записке следующего дня, 30 сентября того же года, упоминается имя библиотекаря: '... изволил его величество послать за библиотекарем Франсуа и приказал ему при себе устанавливать книги, которые вчера еще не все помещены были.' Далее С. А. Порошин рассказывает о библиотеке министра датского двора барона Иоганна Альбрехта Корфа, купленную Екатериной II в том же году в подарок сыну. 'Сия библиотека, — читаем в дневнике, — состоит из тридцати шести тысяч книг. Положено платить за нее по десяти тысяч рублей в год, а сторгована она за пятьдесят тысяч. Его же высочество не прежде сию библиотеку к себе получит как по смерти г. Корфа. Известно, что драгоценная библиотека И. А. Корфа, отличавшаяся редкостью отдельных экземпляров, поступила во дворец в 1766 году.

В оправдание того, что эта большая и дорогостоящая библиотека предназначалась 'не для всегдашнего употребления', в начале 1765 года по предложению С. А. Порошина для наследника создается 'небольшая

комнатная библиотека'.¹⁹ Между 'залом для кампаний' и 'почивальней' по проекту В. Деламота строится уютное помещение с нишею и лестницей на антресоли. В первоначальном внутреннем убранстве этой библиотеки стены ее 'были сплошь заняты книжными шкафами, даже двери были обработаны в виде полок с фальшивыми книжными переплетами'.²⁰ В 1796-1797 годах 'половину наследника' и комнаты Екатерины II, куда впоследствии переселился Павел, реконструирует архитектор В. Ф. Бренна. Он 'отделывал заново Библиотеку Павла I, Будуар и Библиотеку Марии Федоровны, Столовую, Кавалергардский и Гренадерский залы, Адъютантскую, а также восстанавливал и дополнял отделку других помещений'.²¹ Подробное описание интерьеров этих апартаментов находим в архивной 'Описи мебели и уборам в комнатах Павла Петровича', датированной 1836 годом. 'В двух комнатах, — значит в этом документе, — занавесок половинчатых зеленой тафты во всю ширину на медных погонах — две; вокруг стен красного дерева для книг со стеклами и тафтою, бронзовым украшением шкафов — пять; в них дверей на антресоли и вниз — две; при них кронштейнов бронзовых золоченых о четырех трубах для свеч — шесть; шкапов таких же низких — три; на них мраморных бюстов древних муз — одиннадцать; стол для письма большой красного дерева с золоченою бронзою с зеленым сукном о двух ящиках, на нем чернильница хрустальная, оправленная золоченою бронзою с колокольчиками; в нише постамент цветного мрамора с круглою белого мрамора чашею — один; поплевок красного дерева с медными вкладками — два; термометр медный наружный — один; внутренний деревянный — один; кровать складная, бронзового дерева — одна; столик простого дерева четырехугольный.'²² Украшал этот нарядный дворцовый интерьер росписной плафон. Известно, что в 1797 году Карло Скотти получает 5500 рублей 'за историческую живопись потолка в библиотеке его величества на холсте масляными красками'.²³ Судя по описанию библиотека императора Павла во дворце располагалась на месте прежней библиотеки Екатерины (ныне зал № 274).

Во дворце находилась лишь небольшая часть павловских книг. Большинство их размещалось в Царском селе, в Павловском и Гатчинском дворцах, а также в Михайловском замке. Издания эти были преимущественно военно-исторического содержания, но попадались книги и о

¹⁹ Порошин С. Семена Порошина записки служащие к истории его Императорского Величества Государя Цесаревича и Великого Князя Павла Петровича наследника престолу Российского. Санктпетербург, 1844, с. 17, 22, 23, 262.

²⁰ Эрмитаж (примечание 1), с. 75.

²¹ Шуйский В. К. Винченцо Бренна. Ленинград, 1986, с. 166.

²² Центральный государственный исторический архив СССР (далее ЦГИА СССР), ф. 470, оп. 106/540/2, д. 165, л. 239, 240.

²³ Успенский А. И. Императорские дворцы. т. 1. Зимний дворец. Москва, 1913, с. 130.

путешествиях, всевозможные описания достопримечательностей России и других государств, романы отечественные и иностранные, сочинения древних авторов, так называемые 'роскошные издания по архитектуре, рисунки обмундирования, в особенности гатчинских войск, штандартов и знамен'.²⁴

В 1780-е годы часть обширного павловского книжного собрания (в том числе и библиотека И. А. Корфа) размещается в бывшем доме пажей на Луговой-Миллионной улице рядом с Зимним дворцом, о чем свидетельствует письмо А. В. Храповицкого обер-гофмаршалу Г. Н. Орлову от 13 сентября 1785 года и духовное завещание Павла I от 4 января 1788 года.²⁵

Все книги павловской коллекции, как правило, имели одинаковые переплеты. 'Красные, сочные по колориту, матовые сафьяны, облекавшие их книги, были обрамлены на крышках бордюрами разнообразного орнамента, начиная с ажурных линий замыкающихся рокайльными изгибами на углах, из которых вылупляется цветок, и кончая всевозможными композициями из вьющихся широких или узких гирлянд, состоящих или из сплошной листвы или из сплетающихся вместе цветочков, тогда как корешки в промежутках ремешков украшались типичными для того века флеронами. В центре же крышек переплета выдвигался, подавляя всю прочую орнаментацию, величественный и четкий по своим линиям, однотипный для всех книг, тисненый знак собственности трех размеров (сообразно формату тома), заключенный в перевитый сверху и снизу овал лиственного орнамента.'²⁶ Книжный знак Павла I был первым вензельным среди прочих знаков зимнедворских библиотек. Он встречается на обложках его книг в двух вариантах суперэкслибриса: либо состоящий из одной латинской литеры 'P' в орнаментальной раме, либо двух переплетенных 'PP', но уже без орнаментики.

Одновременно с библиотекой Павла I в Зимнем дворце существовало книжное собрание его супруги Марии Федоровны. Оно было сравнительно небольшим и основу его составляла бывшая 'дорожная' библиотека Екатерины II, когда-то ею подаренная невестке. В эту библиотеку входили исторические французские романы, мемуарная литература и другие произведения иностранных авторов. (Более значимые книгохранилища Марии Федоровны, как и ее супруга, были размещены в Павловском и Гатчинском дворцах.) Существовал у этого собрания и свой суперэкслибрис в двух разновидностях: один из них представлял собою двуглавого орла со щитками трех гербов: вюртембергского, голштинского и российского; второй был идентичен первому, но в

²⁴ Щеглов В. В. Собственные его Императорского Величества библиотеки и арсеналы. Краткий исторический очерк. 1715-1915. Петроград, 1917, с. 26.

²⁵ Мухин С. А. Судьба одной библиотеки. Ленинград, 1929, с. 54, 55.

²⁶ Мухин (примечание 25), с. 23.

нем отсутствовал голштинский герб.

Апартаменты Марии Федоровны представляли собой анфиладу комнат вдоль южного фасада дворца окнами на площадь. Библиотека находилась рядом с 'колонной гостиной' (ныне зал № 286). Ее интерьер, судя по документам, был более наряден и декоративен, чем убранство библиотеки Павла I. Небольшое помещение в одно окно украшали зеленые в малиновые цветочки занавеси с 'двумя подвесными розетками темной бронзы с золочением на драпировке и пятью деревянными золочеными розетками'. Стены были задрапированы фланским полотном и тем же полотном были обиты десять кресел красного дерева. Вдоль стен стояли 'два шкапа библиотечные со стеклянными дверцами, обитые желтым граденаплем с замками и ключами', кроме них в комнате находились два 'шкапа о пяти дверцах'. Парадность апартаментам придавали шестнадцать мраморных бюстов, размещенных на шкафах и двух письменных столах с зеленым сукном о четырех ящиках. Украшала библиотеку 'люстра бронзовая золоченая о 5 цепях с хрустальным граненым шаром о 32-х для свеч трубках и два щитка для камина бумажных с живописными ландшафтами и ручками черного дерева'.²⁷

Еще при жизни Екатерины II ее внуки Александр и Константин с раннего возраста владели значительными книжными собраниями. Обе эти библиотеки, почти одинаковые по содержанию, состояли в основном из французских книг и отличались лишь вензелями, тисненными на наклеенных на корешок зеленых медальонах, содержащих в верхнем из них или вензель 'СР' или 'АР', а на нижнем — одинаковый российский государственный герб с цепью и орденом Андрея Первозванного. Одинаковые переплеты книг этих библиотек, как правило, исполненные из марокена, отличались превосходным качеством исполнения и были созданы, вероятно, одним и тем же французским мастером. Все они, кроме того, имели одну характерную примету: несоразмерно увеличенную нумерацию, тисненную на многотомных сочинениях на наклеенных овалах коричневой кожи. Для Александра и Константина под руководством Д. Кваренги в 1791-1793 годах переделываются апартаменты в западном корпусе дворца, выходящие окнами на Адмиралтейство для Александра Павловича и во внутренний двор для Константина Павловича. В отличие от книгохранилищ родителей во дворце, отличавшихся эффектно-декоративными интерьерами, библиотеки внуков Екатерины II были гораздо более скромны. Так, например, в анфиладе помещений вдоль Адмиралтейства для книг была отведена небольшая комната, перекрытая антресолю, которая соседствовала со спальней (ныне часть зала № 170).

²⁷ ЦГИА СССР (примечание 22), л. 264 об., 265 об., 266.

Став императором, Александр I заказывает себе новый книжный знак: как и прежде вензельный — российский двуглавый орел со щитком на груди, содержащий литеру 'А'. В зимнедворском собрании александровских книг в конце XVIII века были книги, принадлежавшие Павлу I, которые он унаследовал от него.²⁸ Известно, что большая часть александровского собрания в 1814 году перешла в фонды музейной эрмитажной библиотеки и, кроме того, часть книг вместе с павловскими сгорела в 1837 году во время пожара Зимнего дворца.

В упомянутых нами помещениях, как правило, размещались 'личные' библиотеки членов царской фамилии. Надо сказать, что еще в документах, относящихся к началу XIX века, все чаще упоминаются такие понятия, как 'собственные его императорского величества' или 'личные его императорского величества' библиотеки. С петровских времен 'собственными' назывались все библиотеки и книжные собрания где-либо находившиеся и принадлежавшие императорскому дому. Датой их возникновения принято считать 1715 год, 'когда случайное собрание книг, принадлежавших Петру I, было приведено в порядок и составило собою библиотеку в прямом значении этого названия'.²⁹ Все 'личные' библиотеки входили в более широкое понятие 'собственных' библиотек, которые, в свою очередь, могли размещаться не только в Зимнем, но также в Михайловском, Аничковом, Мраморном, а также в загородных дворцах Царского села, Гатчины, Павловска, Петергофа, Ливадии и т.д. Помимо них существовали 'походные' или 'дорожные' библиотеки, которыми пользовались во время путешествий на поездах и яхтах, и которые, естественно, также были 'собственными' и 'личными' книжными собраниями.

В начале XIX века 'собственные' и 'личные' библиотеки все чаще упоминаются в соприкосновении с возникшей, как уже упоминалось, еще в екатерининские времена, эрмитажной библиотекой. Так например, из записки от 5 ноября 1826 года, составленной в Придворной конторе, становится известно, что действительный статский советник Карл Иванович Седжер, заведующий всеми собственными и личной библиотекой императора Николая I, направляется в эрмитажную библиотеку для того, чтобы выбрать в ней дублиеты и 'перевести в Царское село, где назначить особое место для устройства библиотеки'.³⁰ Кроме того, нередко книги, выписываемые из-за границы специально для музея, перехватываются во дворце и становятся личной собственностью царской семьи.

²⁸ Саблуков Н. А. Из записок Н. А. Саблукова. — Русский архив, 1869, Санктпетербург, 1870, с. 312.

²⁹ Щеглов (примечание 24), с. 14.

³⁰ Архив Государственного Эрмитажа (далее АГЭ), ф. 1, оп. IV, 1826, д. 13, л. 1.

В 1840 году происходит слияние всех 'собственных' библиотек с эрмитажной музейной библиотекой. Именно в этом году Флориан Антонович Жиль назначается начальником I-го отделения Эрмитажа и одновременно заведующим всеми царскими арсеналами и библиотеками. Из Зимнего дворца в музей переводится библиотека Николая I и рукописи из архивов загородных дворцов.³¹ Во дворце остается небольшая часть николаевских книг, которая называлась его 'военной' библиотекой.

В 1855 году к книгам Александра II во дворце присоединяется царскосельская так называемая 'секретная' николаевская библиотека и в следующем году она сливается с 'военной' библиотекой покойного императора, остававшейся в Зимнем дворце. Позднее, в 1866 году в зимнедворскую библиотеку поступает коллекция книг Марии Федоровны.³²

Из обстоятельной записки 1861 года, составленной библиотекарем того времени Ф. А. Жилем, становится очевидным характер книг 'личной' библиотеки Александра II. В перечне, в частности, называются среди прочих книги по истории, военному искусству, географии, архитектуре, а также гравюры, эстампы, старинные альбомы акварелей и рисунков униформ.³³ В той же записке, направленной Министру Двора, говорится также, что 'все подносимые государю императору как русскими, так и иностранными авторами сочинения, которые прежде поступали в эрмитажную, на будущее время будут передаваемы в собственную его величества библиотеку'.³⁴

1861 год был знаменательным в истории музейной и дворцовых библиотек. В этом году состоялось окончательное отделение эрмитажной библиотеки от книжных собраний царской фамилии. С этого момента в 'собственных' библиотеках учреждается должность библиотекаря, не связанного со службой в музее. Так, с 1865 по 1874 год 'собственными библиотеками заведует советник Е. А. Кемерер, с 1874 по 1876 год — тайный советник П. А. Мориц, с 1876 по 1884 год — советник придворной конторы А. И. Grimm, с 1884 по 1908 год — его сын, действительный статский советник Р. А. Grimm, а сменил последнего на этом посту и занимал должность библиотекаря вплоть до революции гофмейстер двора и первый историк зимнедворских библиотек В. В. Щеглов, опубликовавший в 1917 году краткий очерк о библиотеках и арсеналах двора за период их существования с 1715 по 1915 год.³⁵

³¹ Щеглов (примечание 24), с. 36, 37.

³² Щеглов (примечание 24), с. 54.

³³ Щеглов (примечание 24), с. 55.

³⁴ Щеглов (примечание 24), с. 59.

³⁵ Щеглов (примечание 24), с. 61.

В 1880-е годы происходит относительное упорядочение книжного фонда 'собственных' библиотек. Это подтверждает записка А. И. Гримма, составленная в 1881 году в связи с проектом изменения штатов всех учреждений Министерства двора. В первом пункте этого документа, озаглавленного 'Наименования библиотек и их состав', приводится анализ фонда 'собственной' библиотеки Зимнего дворца, т.е. библиотеки Александра III, основу которой составляло книжное собрание его отца. В нее входили издания по военному делу на русском и иностранных языках, собрания карт, планов, чертежей, моделей, а также коллекция изображений униформ обмундирования российской армии и флота. Кроме того, в библиотеке находились разного рода альбомы с видами городов, дворцов и парков, разного рода портреты, а также архивные материалы, отчеты министерств и ведомств, письма и другие документы. Входило в состав этой библиотеки и собрание монет и медалей.³⁶ В 1880-е годы эта библиотека интенсивно пополняется книгами по археологии и истории, причем предпочтение, как и прежде, отдается сочинениям по военному делу. Поставляют книги во дворец иностранные и отечественные книгопродавцы Фельтен, Вольф, Шмицдорф, Беггров, Риккер. Покупаются переводные и русские романы, иллюстрированные издания (художественные альбомы, и журналы мод), биографические сочинения и сочинения по истории искусств, выписывается периодика. Для библиотеки строится специальное помещение на третьем этаже дворца с антресолями в северо-западной части (ныне библиотека Отдела нумизматики Эрмитажа).

В 1890-е годы во дворце проводится большая реконструкция интерьеров, которая отражается и на дворцовой библиотеке того времени. 'Помещения ... северо-западного ризалита ... полностью утратили первоначальный декор в 1894 году, когда по проектам А. Ф. Красовского все комнаты этой части дворца были перестроены к свадьбе будущего императора Николая II.'³⁷ Интерьеры переделывались на новый лад и в бывшей библиотеке Александра III 'срубили штукатурку и лепные карнизы и проложили в стенах каналы для устройства хоров'.³⁸

Новая библиотека по проекту А. Ф. Красовского находилась рядом с 'биллиардной' и 'адъютантской' и была решена в готическом стиле (зал № 178). Встроенные ореховые книжные шкафы библиотеки были изготовлены на лучшей петербургской мебельной фабрике Н. Ф. Свирского, которому были поручены и другие столярно-художественные работы в библиотеке. 'Резной потолок библиотеки, лестница с ажурной

³⁶ Щеглов (примечание 24), с. 66, 67.

³⁷ Пашкова Т. Л. Интерьеры А. П. Брюллова во втором этаже северо-западного ризалита Зимнего дворца. — Культура и искусство России XIX века. Ленинград, 1985, с. 81.

³⁸ Эрмитаж (примечание 1), с. 180.

балюстрадой, панно тисненой красной с золочеными узорами кожи, массивные столы и скамьи, украшенные готическими мотивами рельефных 'льняных складок', были заказаны другой петербургской фирме Ф. Мельцера.³⁹ Украшали библиотеку люстры цветного стекла, исполненные на императорском стекольном заводе в 1830-1840-х годах и монументальный камин, с гербами, краббами и крестоцветами. Особый средневеково-романтический дух помещению придавали высокие окна с ажурными переплетами. В тридцати восьми шкафах этой библиотеки находилась собственная библиотека Николая II, которая постоянно пополнялась. Одной из характерных черт комплектования книжных коллекций дворца конца XIX-начала XX века было приобретение значительного числа разнообразных периодических изданий, как отечественных так особенно и иностранных, которые специально выписывались из-за границы через Почтамт.

В 1896 году была приобретена в казну библиотека посла России в Константинополе, Вене, Лондоне и Берлине, коллекционера, библиофила и библиографа А. Б. Лобанова-Ростовского, который был также автором трудов по генеалогии, известным собирателем книг, автографов и материалов по истории России преимущественно XVIII века. Библиотека его состояла из тридцати четырех разделов по различным отраслям знаний и хранила автографы разных исторических лиц. Первоначально библиотека А. Б. Лобанова-Ростовского занимала во дворце смежную с библиотекой Николая II Биллиардную комнату (зал № 179), а позднее была переведена в Гимнастический зал (зал № 161).

С 1903 года во дворце производится ряд перемещений библиотечных фондов. В записке В. В. Щеглова, адресованной в Канцелярию двора, в частности, уточняется характер предполагаемых мероприятий и мотивы, побудившие необходимость их осуществления.

‘В последнее время, — читаем в этом документе, — за неимением свободного места в собственных библиотеках, вновь поступающие книги, художественные издания, альбомы, медали и тому подобное размещались по старейшим библиотекам, а именно библиотекам императора Николая I, Александра II, Александра III и других, чем нарушался не только определенный характер оных, но и обезличивалось новое книгохранилище.’⁴⁰

Надо сказать, что к концу XIX века в Зимнем дворце находилось три главных собственных библиотеки, две из которых являлись мемориальными и имели прежде всего историческое значение. Именно такой,

³⁹ Художественное убранство русского интерьера XIX века. Государственный Эрмитаж. Выставка. Очерк-путеводитель. Ленинград, 1986, с. 98-103.

⁴⁰ АГЭ, ф. 2, оп. XIV, А, 1903, но. 10, л. 5.

помимо упомянутой библиотеки А. Б. Лобанова-Ростовского, была бывшая библиотека Николая I и Александра II или так называемая Старая библиотека Зимнего дворца. В ней был богато представлен Военный отдел с литературой XVII и XVIII веков, включающий в себя и изобразительный материал по обмундированию российских и иностранных войск, а также разного рода подносные адреса, альбомы, отчеты и исторические обзоры, как правило, переплетенные в превосходные переплеты с золотым тиснением. Хранились в этой библиотеке и гравированные портреты XVIII века, миниатюры и фотокопии с картин великих мастеров. Отдельную коллекцию составили рисунки и офорты В. А. Жуковского. Кроме того, здесь же находились двести пятьдесят альбомов с акварельными рисунками И. М. Прянишникова, М. А. Зичи, И. И. Шарлеманя, Э. П. Гау, К. А. Ухтомского и других художников. В николаевскую библиотеку и библиотеку наследника (последняя занимала несколько шкафов внутри первой) входили книги самого разнообразного содержания, что свидетельствовало скорее о случайном, чем о целенаправленном характере этих собраний. Помимо упомянутой периодики в них входили издания художественно-нравственного, исторического, философского содержания, а также беллетристика, книги медицинские, разного рода справочники сельскохозяйственные, железнодорожные, юридические, альбомы по искусству и путеводители по городам.

В вышеназванной записке В. В. Щеглов предлагал изъять из Новой библиотеки, так именовалась во дворце библиотека Николая II, разного рода отчеты, правительственные и ведомственные издания, календари и т.д., книги, которые не представляли существенного интереса и предполагалось на освободившиеся места в шкафах разместить более интересные произведения печати. Здесь же библиотекарь писал о необходимости предоставления нового помещения для расширения существующих книгохранилищ. В ответ на данное прошение, как уже упоминалось выше, из Биллиардной комнаты в Гимнастический зал была переведена библиотека А. Б. Лобанова-Ростовского.

В 1914 году часть книг из так называемого Нового зала (бывшей Биллиардной) и Малой библиотеки (бывшей Столовой) были перемещены во вновь отведенные для этой цели на третьей запасной половине Зимнего дворца Корабельную и Зеленую. В связи с перечисленными перемещениями фондов были специально для этой цели заказаны новые книжные шкафы, в частности, два шкафа красного дерева для Корабельной комнаты.⁴¹

Существовала во дворце и библиотека членов семьи царствующего дома.

⁴¹ АГЭ, ф. 2, оп. XIV, А, 1914, но. 15, л. 1-6.

‘В Зимнем дворце, — значит в акте осмотра этого книгохранилища, датированном 18 апреля 1918 года, — в комнатах Александра III в коридоре около хор Концертного зала [ныне служебное помещение Отдела нумизматики] помещается библиотека бывшей императрицы Александры Федоровны в 27 шкафах, также небольшое собрание книг, принадлежавших дочерям бывшего императора и два шкафа с книгами и разными предметами (подношения), принадлежавшими бывшему наследнику цесаревичу.’⁴² В этой библиотеке, помимо художественной литературы на русском и иностранных языках, хранились разного рода отчеты, ежегодники, коронационные сборники, словари, книги по гидрографии, геологии, ботанике, археологии, также многочисленные альбомы с фото-материалами, нотами, рисунками, акварелями, программы концертов и спектаклей, всевозможные гербарии и образцы для вышивания. Как и в прочих зимнедворских библиотеках многие книги этого собрания были переплетены в богато украшенные серебром, золотом и драгоценными камнями переплеты, исполненные первоклассными отечественными и зарубежными мастерами.

Таким образом, за всю историю существования в стенах Зимнего дворца его библиотеки претерпели немало перемен. Неоднократно видоизменялись их апартаменты вместе с убранством и интерьерами всего дворца, что диктовалось временем и вкусами очередного хозяина монаршего дома. Качественно менялся состав книжного собрания, находящийся в постоянной связи с коллекциями музейной библиотеки, собраниями загородных дворцов и прочих царских резиденций.

Интересную страницу в истории библиотек Зимнего дворца открыл 1917 год. С первых дней Октября ‘собственные’ библиотеки находились в сфере особого внимания государственной охраны молодой страны Советов. В первые месяцы советской власти был издан ряд декретов, призывавших уберечь колоссальное художественное достояние республики. Были опубликованы декреты о сохранности книжных богатств, в частности ‘Об охране библиотек и книгохранилищ РСФСР’ от 17 июля 1918 года, ‘О порядке реквизиции библиотек, книжных складов и книг вообще’ от 26 сентября 1918 года, и постановление Совета Народных Комиссаров ‘О научных библиотеках’ от 4 сентября 1919 года. Сбором и распределением огромных книжных богатств в Петрограде ведало несколько учреждений, среди которых главными были: Секция научных библиотек при Научном отделе Наркомпроса и Государственный музейный и Государственный книжный фонды, сыгравшие большую роль в процессе упорядочения книжных сокровищ страны. Была создана также Художественно-историческая комиссия при Зимнем дворце в 1917-1918 годах. В задачи ее,

⁴² АГЭ, ф. 2, оп. XIV, Б, 1918, но. 1, л. 3.

помимо прочих, чисто музейных, входило также описание всего состава книжных фондов и рукописей бывших императорских библиотек для рационального решения в будущем вопроса о дальнейшем порядке хранения и распределения этих собраний. В Комиссию входили известные искусствоведы и художники А. Н. Бенуа, С. Р. Эрнст, Ф. Ф. Нотгафт, В. Ф. Левинсон-Лессинг, С. П. Яремич, В. П. Белкин, В. Я. Курбатов, Г. К. Лукомский, Л. И. Пиотровская. Комиссия в Зимнем дворце работала по двум направлениям: составляла списки утраченных вещей и делала описи всех находившихся в его стенах библиотек. Кроме того, во дворце сосредоточивались все библиотеки, принадлежавшие царской фамилии. Так, в записке от 17 мая 1918 года адресованной члену художественной Комиссии В. А. Надеждину, говорится следующее: 'Настоящим Художественно-историческая комиссия при Зимнем дворце поручает Вам, согласно распоряжения Народного Комиссара А. В. Луначарского от 15 мая за № 1412, озаботиться перевозкой библиотеки Аничкова дворца в Зимний дворец для хранения ее на общих с остальными частями бывших собственных библиотек основаниях, впредь до разрешения общего вопроса о дальнейшей их судьбе в целом составе.'⁴³

9 августа 1918 года в Комиссию по охране и регистрации памятников старины было направлено предписание из Научного отдела Народного комиссариата по Просвещению, в котором говорилось следующее: 'Признавая необходимость сохранения состава как книжных фондов, так и связанных с ними художественных и историко-культурных предметов и рукописей бывших императорских библиотек, впредь до окончания производимой описи, которая должна выявить этот состав и лечь в основание рационального решения вопроса о дальнейшем порядке хранения и частичного пересмотра и распределения названных собраний, прошу Комиссию иметь в виду, что никакие распоряжения, направленные на перемещение этих книжных фондов и связанных с ними музейных библиотечных коллекций, на их распределение или иное разделение не могут быть произведены без ведома и согласия Научного Народного комиссариата по Просвещению.'⁴⁴

Понимая научную значимость фонда бывших 'собственных' библиотек, сотрудники Эрмитажа были заинтересованы в непосредственном участии при решении его дальнейшей судьбы. 31 декабря 1918 года в Комитет по охране памятников искусства и старины была направлена докладная, подписанная директором Государственного Эрмитажа С. Н. Тройницким, в которой говорилось: 'Принимая во внимание, что

⁴³ Ленинградский государственный архив литературы и искусства (далее ЛГАЛИ), ф. 36, оп. 1, д. 23, л. 2.

⁴⁴ ЛГАЛИ, ф. 36, оп. 1, д. 23, л. 6.

Эрмитаж заинтересован в получении из библиотеки Зимнего дворца целого ряда изданий и книг, а также рисунков, гравюр и проч., Эрмитаж просит Отдел при рассмотрении вопроса о распределении книжного фонда дворцовых библиотек привлечь к участию и представителей Эрмитажа.⁴⁵

Просьба сотрудников Эрмитажа была удовлетворена и заведующий эрмитажной библиотекой В. А. Головань вместе с сотрудниками Музейного фонда участвовал в проверке материалов, хранящихся в 'собственных' библиотеках, для чего ими были сняты пломбы со шкафов в так называемых 'Исторических комнатах' Зимнего дворца, т.е. в Основной библиотеке, в Новых залах и в бывших покоях Николая II и в Малой библиотеке (т.е. в библиотеке Александра II), а также в помещении Камерюнгферского коридора на третьем этаже, где к тому времени была размещена библиотека А. Б. Лобанова-Ростовского.

В библиотеку Государственного Эрмитажа по решению Главнауки Музейным фондом были переданы две наиболее значимые и крупные библиотеки — бывшая библиотека Александра II и собрание книг А. Б. Лобанова-Ростовского.⁴⁶ Остальные книги после 1923 года были сложены в помещении бывшей ризницы большого собора Зимнего дворца и распределялись в различные учреждения и организации. Была проделана работа по изучению, отбору и систематизации многотысячного уникального материала. Каждое издание рассматривалось не только как источник информации той или иной эпохи, но и как памятник письменности, культуры и искусства своего времени и только после этого направлялось в определенную библиотеку страны.

Так, карманные календари, фотоальбомы, генеалогические таблицы поступили в Петергофский дворец-музей, книги о самодержавии, относящиеся к польскому восстанию 1831 года — в музей Революции, книги по древнерусскому искусству, древней архитектуре и планы русских городов — в Государственный Русский музей, издания гражданской печати и церковная литература — в библиотеку Академии наук, рисунки форм русской гвардии и прусской гвардии — в бывшую библиотеку штаба РККА, книги по судовождению — в Морской техникум и Музей торгового мореплавания, отчеты по постройке Западно-Сибирской железной дороги и Китайской железной дороги — в Институт инженеров железнодорожного транспорта, а также в Центральный исторический архив разного рода рукописные документы, альбомы, фотоматериалы. Ряд книг был направлен в Москву в Библиотеку им. В. И. Ленина. Большая

⁴⁵ ЛГАЛИ, ф. 36, оп. 1, д. 23, л. 34.

⁴⁶ ЛГАЛИ, ф. 36, оп. 1, д. 173, л. 38, 65, 178.

часть библиотеки Николая II была продана за границу через Антиквариат.

Сотни томов зимнедворских библиотек, влившихся в музейное эрмитажное книгохранилище, и по сей день представляют собой уникальный фонд образцов первоклассной полиграфии, превосходного художественного оформления и искусного переплетного дела. Снабженные, как правило, экслибрисами и суперэкслибрисами бывших владельцев, нередко несущие на своих страницах разного рода пометы, дарственные факсимильные надписи и маргиналии они органично вписываются в хронологическую летопись историко-культурной жизни России второй половины XVIII-начала XX века.

Unofficial and Independent Publishing in Czechoslovakia, 1972–1990

Zuzana Nagy

Publishing in Czechoslovakia of the seventies and eighties presented a rather schizophrenic image: on one side there were the traditional, state-controlled publishing houses, and on the other there gradually appeared many independent 'publishers', either individuals or small groups, whose production and distribution methods went back, in some cases, to the pre-Gutenberg era. Because the work of the traditional publishers has not changed significantly in the past forty years, this article will deal in more detail with the less well-known unofficial publishers. The changes in the publishing industry subsequent to the 'velvet revolution' of November 1989 (i.e. the transformation of some formerly independent publishers into official ones, registered with the state) will be described only very briefly since the situation changes virtually daily.

Background: 1949–1972

The scope and content of the work of the traditional publishing houses in Czechoslovakia after World War II was first defined by the Communist government in Publishing Statute no. 94, dated 24 May 1949. This law placed all publishers under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture and Education, and assigned to the Ministry the right to issue publishing permits. These licenses were also issued to various state, educational, regional and research organizations. Individuals were not able to obtain a permit to publish. In 1952 the publishing statute was amended: subject areas of individual publishers were more clearly defined to avoid duplication of editorial plans and also to bring the publishing houses closer to the idea of central planning. Publishers affiliated with one of the few remaining 'independent' political parties were allowed to issue only materials relating to the work of that party. At the same time the government designated the publishing house Československý spisovatel (Czechoslovak Writer) as the main literary publishing house. In 1984 there were altogether fifty-nine officially sanctioned publishing houses in Czechoslovakia; of these, thirty-five were in Bohemia and Moravia and twenty-four were in Slovakia.

Beginnings, or, Do-it-Yourself, 1972–mid-Eighties

The monopoly on publishing that the state-controlled publishers had held since 1949 was slowly eroded in the wake of the 'normalization' of the status quo following the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia and concurrent

reimposition of censorship. Some of the monopoly had been lost briefly in the first days of the invasion when many newspapers and journals, having lost access to their regular printing shops, used 'alternative' presses, such as those used by factories to produce internal newsletters.

The real beginning of independent publishing came, however, only in 1972. The refusal to agree with the official view of the invasion as 'fraternal aid' resulted in the isolation of many of the best Czech writers, scholars and journalists, who were deprived of access to the traditional publishing houses and other media. In this situation the only possible answer to the continuing need for full and truthful information and free exchange of ideas not only among the nonconformists themselves but also between them and the public was to find an alternative means of communication, to 'publish' their works independently, outside the official publishing houses. Titles thus published can be divided into 'edice', or book series; titles published outside any series; and periodicals and various individually issued documents, reports, public appeals.

The first of the independent 'publishing houses' was the Edice Petlice (Padlock Series), started in 1972 by the author Ludvík Vaculík. He describes its beginnings in his article 'A Padlock for Castle Schwarzenberg':

What was to have become a major cultural undertaking started when Ivan Klíma needed to get a manuscript of his *Lepers* typed. To try to save some money, he had it typed in several copies which he then sold to interested parties. There turned out to be more of them than there were copies. It was just at that moment that Československý spisovatel (the Writers' Union's publishing house) sent me back my *Guinea Pigs*. So I took a leaf out of Klíma's book. Those original copies were A4 format and at first were just stapled together. But it struck me that they could just as easily be properly finished, bound editions. They might even start a book series ...¹

By the end of the eighties close to 400 titles were issued in the Edice Petlice series. Titles ranged from belles-lettres (fiction, poetry and drama) to philosophy, interviews with other dissidents, literary almanacs, literary criticism, autobiographies and political essays.

These books were typed, frequently on a manual typewriter. In general only about ten to twelve copies were produced. Sometimes the last two or three copies were legible only if a sheet of white paper was laid under the text. Edice Petlice books are bound, the first ones often only in paper covers, with later the covers becoming more elaborate. Some titles, especially the later ones, are also illustrated with original artwork, e.g. Třešňák's *Rómulus a Rómus*. All the Edice Petlice books are signed by the author on the title page

¹ *Acta, Quarterly of the Documentation Centre for the Promotion of Independent Czechoslovak Literature*, 1987, no. 3/4, p. 40.

and bear a copyright statement allocated by the 'publisher' to individual typists. The manuscripts were often proof-read by the authors themselves, who also had to correct mistakes in all the copies and frequently had to arrange for their binding as well. For the first 200 titles Mr Vaculík, serving as publisher, bore the chief responsibility for the selection of titles to be published, the copyists who were to do the work and, not least importantly, for arranging the financing of this enterprise, since the Edice Petlice was totally dependent on the income generated by the sale of its titles. Later on the authors themselves were responsible for both copying and sales.

In the first years of its existence, the mid-seventies, Edice Petlice books were for banned Czech authors the only means of keeping in touch with each other and with their readers. Edice Petlice was seen by its publisher as:

... a means of helping to preserve manuscripts: by protecting and propagating them; by telling interested parties, particularly specialists, about new writings by well-known authors, and about the new writing talents on the horizon. ... Petlice has provided source material for future study of our epoch, and not just its literature.²

Among the authors whose works were included in the Edice Petlice apart from Ivan Klíma and Ludvík Vaculík were Jiří Gruša, Pavel Kohout, Jaroslav Seifert, Bohumil Hrabal, Václav Havel. Vaculík himself edited three volumes of Czech and Slovak feuilletons in addition to publishing his own. A book on Ceylon by Jiří Hanzelka and Miroslav Zikmund is a rare example of a travelogue.

Unlike Edice Petlice that tried, as it were, to bear witness to its times, the Edice Expedice (1975–), co-founded by the then banned playwright Václav Havel and the literary critic Jan Lopatka, was much more focused in its publishing programme: mostly poetry, drama, fiction and philosophical essays. Jan Lopatka characterizes the editorial policy as:

... in the initial phase to 're-issue' interesting and important titles from the Padlock Series, to publish works of authors affiliated with the Czech underground (members of the group Plastic People of the Universe etc.). ... Included in the editorial plans were also the works of former contributors to the now defunct literary journal *Tvář*.³

Edice Expedice also tried to provide access to foreign-language works of interest to its readers by issuing translations of authors such as George Orwell.

In the first years Václav Havel, acting as editor-in-chief, was assisted by

² *Acta* (note 1), 1987, no. 3/4, pp. 44–45.

³ *Tvar*, 1990, no. 33 (18 October), p. 5.

Dana Horáková and later, during his prison terms, the editorial responsibilities were shared by Jan Lopatka, Ivan Havel and others. Edice Expedice titles have a full imprint statement in the colophon signed by the publisher instead of the author. As Vaculík remarked, this was much easier on the publisher than trying to persuade the author to sign. The imprint reads 'For myself and for my friends copied by: Václav Havel.' During Havel's absences due to his several prison terms, the signature of his wife Olga Havlová appears in the imprint as the name of the person responsible. The Edice Expedice titles are divided into two series: the 'Black Series' published until the end of the seventies and the 'Light Series' beginning in 1983; the names were assigned according to the colour of their covers. Altogether close to 300 titles were published.

The first title published by Edice Expedice in 1975 was Bohumil Hrabal's memoir of his friend, the graphic artist Vladimír Boudník *Něžný barbar* (The Gentle Barbarian). Other titles which appeared in the Edice Expedice were *Pohledy* (Views), intended as a serial, but of which only one number was issued. This number is dedicated to materials by and about the rock group Plastic People of the Universe whose clashes with the authorities and subsequent trial led to Václav Havel's direct involvement in the dissident movement. Edice Expedice also issued Havel's *Dopisy Olze* (Letters to Olga) in which the frontispiece, an old pre-war postcard, shows the prison rather too well known to Václav Havel and other dissidents—Bory.

Another early independent publishing house, Edice Kvart (Quarto), named after its format, was launched by the poet, translator and literary critic Jan Vladislav. Edice Kvart was active from 1978 to 1981. After its editor's emigration to Paris in 1980 the series was edited for a short while by Tomáš Vrba. Altogether about fifty titles of poetry, prose, memoirs, literary criticism and translations into Czech were published. Among the titles were translations of Rilke's *Duino Elegies*, the philosopher Patočka's essays on art and music, together with several volumes of Vladislav's *Tajný čtenář* (The Secret Reader), containing essays on Czech and foreign literature. Many of the titles published first in Edice Kvart were later published in Edice Petlice. Kvart books are softbound, often in wallpaper—Mr Vladislav himself bound all the titles he issued. At one point, after hearing Vaculík's complaints about problems with binders, he offered to teach him the fine art of bookbinding. Mr Vaculík, however, declined.

Another important independent series was the Česká Expedice (begun around 1977) whose editor was Jaromír Hořec. Česká Expedice published over 100 titles during its existence. The books in its main series Asyl (Asylum) can be considered bibliophile editions because of the care that went into the preparation and production of individual volumes. The first title published, Jan Zahradníček's *Znamení moci*, is illustrated with original

artwork (woodcuts by J. Jirásek) and includes an essay on the poet by an important Czech literary critic Bedřich Fučík.

Already at that time the independent publishers were freely reprinting one another's titles and, given the lack of imprint information, it is sometimes difficult if not impossible to determine which publishing house issued the book in hand, and which was the one to issue it first, not to mention the impossibility of determining, even roughly, the total number of copies of a particular title. This situation was further complicated by the fact that apart from the 'established' publishing houses there were 'unauthorized' copyists who often transcribed the works they were interested in for their friends and for themselves, frequently without adding information about the publisher. There were exceptions, though; a notable one was Jiří Müller who always carefully signed his re-editions. This *laissez-faire* attitude to reissuing one another's titles already foreshadowed the chaotic conditions that would ensue in the wake of the events of November 1989 and the re-establishment of freedom of the press.

Also into this period, the late seventies, fall the first attempts at publishing periodicals. Most of these were rather short-lived; frequently only one or two issues were published because of imprisonment, emigration, or disagreements between the editors.

In 1979/1980 a few issues of *Čtverec* (Square), named after its format, were published. It was profusely illustrated with original artwork. *Zebra* (1978), so named after its cover, was produced by photocopying the original; it too was illustrated. To ascertain which number was which one had to count the stripes on the cover. The cover artist thus made it harder for the authorities to determine how many issues altogether were published.

Among the first successful periodicals published on an irregular but continuing basis were *Ekonomická revue* and *Historické studie*. The authors of *Ekonomická revue* (Economic Review, summer 1978–summer 1980), focused on the state of the Czechoslovak economy and its potential for improvement. The means and consequences of a possible changeover from a centralized economy to a market-oriented one were also discussed. *Historické studie* (Historical Studies, 1978–), each issue of which had a different title, was the first independent journal of Czech historiography. Its contributors included both historians living in Czechoslovakia and historians living in exile. This periodical presented original articles, bibliographical essays, book reviews, translations and source materials. *Historické studie*, published consistently under this title only since 1984, was published anonymously. Only the names of the individual contributors were given. By the fall of 1988 twenty-four volumes had been published.⁴

⁴ *Acta* (note 1), 1987, no. 3/4, pp. 51–63.

In January 1977 the Charter 77 Declaration was issued, protesting against the continuing abuse of human rights in Czechoslovakia and calling on the government to conform to the Helsinki Agreements which it had recently signed. The following January the first issue of the monthly *Informace o Chartě 77* (Information on Charter 77), known as Infoch, was issued. This journal started as a monthly commentary and a chronicle of the status and abuse of human rights in Czechoslovakia. It differed from preceding periodicals by bearing the full names and addresses of the editors on the title page. *Informace o Chartě 77* also issued a series of independent numbered documents concerned with various issues of interest to the wider public, such as the state of health care, the environment, the school system, and the interpretation of Czechoslovak history. The frequency of the *Informace o Chartě 77* increased later to bi-monthly to cope with the large amount of material. New columns also appeared such as listings of newly published samizdat titles in the various book series, and of the many new periodicals which appeared suddenly in the mid-eighties.

The *Informace o Chartě 77* also began to reprint *Sdělení VONS* (VONS Reports), formerly published independently by the VONS Committee (Committee for the Protection of the Unjustly Persecuted). These reports, because of their objective and factual reporting on trials of dissidents and the results of appeals and updates of older cases, are a very valuable resource for the study of human rights abuses and judicial practice in Czechoslovakia in the seventies and eighties.

Another major, regularly published periodical is the *Informace o Církvi* (Information on the Church, 1980–), a monthly devoted to the status of the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. It featured frequent articles on the activities of Pope John Paul II and covered the state of relations between the church and state in Czechoslovakia.

The Eighties: Explosion of Independent Publishing

The need to compensate for the restrictions on the teaching of philosophy, history and Czech philology led not only to the establishment of so-called apartment seminars, but concurrently to the founding of several new periodicals in which the authors/professors could write freely about matters of professional concern. Thus began the irregularly published *Střední Evropa* (Central Europe, 1984–), devoted to the politics and history of Central Europe. The journal *Obsah* (Contents, 1981–) was closely tied to the establishment of a future ‘evening’ university of Czech language and literature.⁵ Another important journal is *PARAF* (Parallel Acta of Philosophy, 1985–), published by a group of scholars teaching philosophy in the

⁵ *Studentské listy*, no. 5, March 1990.

'apartment' seminars and edited by Dr Radim Palouš, the new president of Charles University. *Kritický sborník* (Critical Collection, 1981–) was the first periodical devoted to literary criticism of both samizdat and exile Czech and Slovak literature. Later contributions also covered works of foreign authors and of authors then in prison. The editors of *Kritický sborník*—Josef Vohryzek, Jan Lopatka and Karel Palek—estimate that the initial print run of thirty-five mostly typed copies increased to about 600 in the last years when part of the print run was done on a copying machine.

The independent periodicals were published not only by already established writers and scholars but also by the younger generation, especially by those who could not gain access to the usual media because of their opposition to 'approved' culture. An important periodical among these 'second culture' serials was *Vokno* (The Window), published since 1979 five or six times a year. *Vokno* attempted to bridge the gap between the dissidents concentrated mainly in Prague and inhabitants of other areas of the country. Distribution into other regions of the country was arranged so that the people there could also become acquainted with what was happening in Prague; *Vokno* reported on the newest in literature, poetry and, through its illustrations, the fine arts. Individual issues were sent out to the provinces to be copied and further distributed.

Lidové noviny (The People's Newspaper, 1987–) represents the first attempt at direct dialogue with the government, an attempt to become a legal opposition newspaper. In its first two years of existence its editor-in-chief, Jiří Ruml, tried on several occasions to secure a permit from the Federal Office for Press and Information to publish and distribute through normal channels. As late as 24 July 1989 the Federal Office answered yet another request for recognition as a legal opposition newspaper with an indictment, the main charge being the 'suspicion of subversion according to article 100 of the Criminal Code'. The charge lay in the distribution of written material which would negatively influence citizens of Czechoslovakia.

Up from Underground

The end of the division of Czechoslovak publishing into official and unofficial was proclaimed by Václav Havel in December 1989, in a front page article in the *Lidové noviny* with the heading 'Good-bye samizdat.'

The rapid political changes and sudden cessation of censorship threw the publishing industry into chaos. The journals were the first to respond to the new freedom of the press. *Lidové noviny* immediately secured access to a printing plant, set up distribution and started to publish in much larger print runs. Some independent periodicals temporarily suspended publication and others went on publishing using a combination of production methods, while others ceased publishing.

The first publishing house to react to the changes was Melantrich, which managed to publish in only seven days (certainly a record time for an official publishing house) a reprint of *Dálkový výslech*, published in the West as 'Disturbing the Peace', an interview with Václav Havel conducted by Karel Hviždala which had originally been published in West Germany by the publisher K. Ritter.

1990

Even now, one year later, the word that comes first to mind when trying to describe the situation in Czechoslovak publishing is 'confusion'. Though it sounds something of an exaggeration the first industry to be plunged into the market-driven economy is publishing. Thus it is rather difficult to predict even which of the many publishing houses (traditional, new, or formerly independent ones) will be in existence a year from now, or which editorial projects will be transformed into titles in bookstores.

In March of this year I had the opportunity to talk to several publishers from Czechoslovakia and they already concurred in saying that while the 1990 list of new titles to be published and the size of print runs has already been decided on, there are too many variables to be able to forecast with any certainty whether the conditions in which these decisions were made will hold for the next year or even for the next few months. Specifically mentioned as some of the variables liable to affect adversely publishing in Czechoslovakia were changes in editorial policies caused by the vanished censorship and the lack of new economic laws governing the management of new enterprises, including publishing houses. It is thus a climate of economic uncertainty that confronts both old, established and new would-be publishers. Contributing to this instability is a series of regulations promulgated last year which in effect increased the freedom of the typesetting enterprises to choose partners, i.e. publishing houses, for whom they would work. Thus even established publishing houses must bargain hard, or make concessions in the form of profit-sharing, in order to get their titles printed on time. The traditional publishers are further hampered in their work by the size of the administrative apparatus created in the past forty years to deal separately with the Pricing Office, printers and booksellers, both retail and wholesale. Another factor complicating the situation in publishing is the lack of any central registry of copyrights, of contracts between authors and publishers. This function used to be fulfilled by the state-run agency DILIA. However, at present every author and conversely every publishing house is free to sign contracts independently, or publish any title on which the copyright has lapsed without checking whether any other publisher has it on its list.

Mr Justl, one of the editors of the publishing house Odeon, was rather optimistic in March 1990, saying that Odeon would probably be among the

less affected publishers, given its specialization in literary and philosophical translations for which there is a steady demand. At that time changes in Odeon's list of forthcoming titles amounted to the elimination of about five works. Now, eight months later, Odeon has announced that 25% of its two hundred employees will be laid off by the end of this year and another 25% will probably be let go, probably by the end of next year. The list of titles already announced for publication in 1991/1992 has been cut down by about a hundred titles (translations of Keats, Dostoevsky and others, all translations from oriental languages, re-editions of older Czech authors ...), which might, if the situation improves, be published with a delay of up to several years after the originally scheduled publication date.⁶

In general the publishers most affected by this upheaval were the traditional literary publishing houses and publishers specializing in political literature. They have had to change their editorial plans suddenly both by deleting titles for many of which there was no demand at all and by adding titles that for long years were on the index and for which there was tremendous demand in the first months after the 'velvet revolution'. They have also had to publish them in large print runs to satisfy that demand. The main literary publishing house, Československý spisovatel, which publishes around 150 titles per year, added about fifteen works by long-suppressed authors to its publishing programme.

Emigré publishers present yet another complication. They often hold the copyright for a work that is much in demand; yet, were they to publish it and then distribute the title in Czechoslovakia, the price would be prohibitively expensive on the domestic Czechoslovak market. These problems notwithstanding, two exile publishers have already announced their intention to transfer to Prague: Alexander Tomský, editor of the publishing house Rozmluvy in London, and Adolf Müller, editor of Index in Cologne. Rozmluvy intended to continue as an independent publishing house in Prague, and after initial difficulties with the Pricing Office and regardless of the present economic uncertainty it has already published several titles, mostly reissues of those previously published in London. Index, early this year, agreed to merge its list with that of Práce, the publishing house of the trade unions. Práce will publish in the next two years about twenty titles for which Index holds the copyright, but will retain the Index imprint. Práce will also change its editorial policy of publishing mostly trade union literature, which will now comprise only one third of its list, and the remaining two thirds will be filled by the Index imprint titles and by its publications of the sixties that could not be reissued during the past twenty years. It seems now, however, that there are problems with the Index-Práce

⁶ *Lidové noviny*, 2 November 1990.

agreement, though in the meantime several titles of this joint project have been published.

Many new publishers have registered with the authorities. Milan Uhde, Minister of Culture of the Czech Republic, mentions in an interview in the trade journal *Nové knihy* (New Books) that he has already signed close to 800 publishing permits.⁷ This number includes not only former independent/unofficial publishers, some of whom already have definite editorial plans, with financing and typesetting facilities secured, but also individuals who intend to publish only the works of a single author via desktop publishing, or completely new publishing houses set up along the lines of the traditional publishing houses. One of the completely new publishing houses, to be named Atlantis, has been organized in Brno. Preparations had already begun in the spring of 1989 and a publishing permit was granted days before 17 November 1989. Atlantis was planned to be funded by the prize money from the German Booksellers' prize and the Olof Palme prize awarded last year to Václav Havel, and by donations in hard currency or in Czechoslovak Crowns from several other prominent authors, Bohumil Hrabal among them. Atlantis had as its first editor-in-chief the present Minister of Culture of the Czech Republic, author-playwright Milan Uhde. Atlantis plans to publish, apart from established authors whose works were previously published only abroad such as Milan Kundera, works by authors previously known only in samizdat editions: Jáchym Topol, J. Šafařík. As of December 1990 several titles had already been issued. Another brand new publishing house is Prostor, started by Alexander Lederer, who published a samizdat journal of the same name. Mr Lederer will continue to publish the journal *Prostor* and will also issue monographs. The first title, already published, was Tigrid's *Politická emigrace v atomovém věku* (Emigration in the Atomic Age).

The one common link between the long-established and traditional, formerly independent/unofficial and the new publishing houses is the stress laid on publishing formerly banned exile and samizdat authors in large print runs (60,000–250,000) to satisfy the expected demand. (Prior to November 1989 the usual print run for a work of fiction ranged from 7,000 to 50,000). Many of the new, in particular the 'one-man' publishing houses, have already announced their specialization in one of the areas ignored thus far by both the official and unofficial publishers—yoga, Eastern mysticism, parapsychology, translations of self-help books and the inevitable newcomer to Central European publishing—erotica. Reprints of 'tried and true' best-sellers have also appeared, often published only as a cheap photoreprint. Children's books deemed 'unsuitable' for the past forty years because of their religious themes have also reappeared. The differences between the traditional, brand-new

⁷ *Nové knihy* 1990, no. 44 (31 October).

and formerly unofficial publishers are rather difficult to define. The traditional publishing houses have undergone great changes not only in their editorial boards and lists but often also in their financing, thus coming closer to the new publishers. This is especially true in the case of *Československý spisovatel*, the established publishing house, and *Atlantis*, the new one. They are now both working on filling in the gaps of the past forty years and simultaneously presenting new authors. The new small 'fringe' publishers will probably become the equivalent of what are known in the West as 'small presses'.

How long the publishing situation in Czechoslovakia will remain the same is now rather unclear. In the past book prices did not reflect the true production price because of various subsidies; book prices were set by an outside agency, and together with the cost of basic necessities (food, shelter, transportation) remained comparatively and artificially low. The recent changes in the economic situation in Czechoslovakia must be considered before any prediction, however tentative, about the future of the publishing industry can be made. Following a round of consumer price increases in summer 1990 (e.g. transportation up by 90%), the state has just announced another series of price increases effective from 1 January 1991. Certain of these will bear directly on the publishing industry: the price of paper will rise by over 200%, printers will be able to raise their prices by another 50–60%, and an income tax of 22% has just been imposed on publishers. This, together with the need to earn some profit and to pay advances to their authors, has been another factor in decisions concerning the cost of publishing, thus determining what will be published and at what price. Book prices are expected to rise by 30–50%. Already the preliminary announcements of forthcoming titles of various publishing houses often do not quote the expected price of an individual title at all as they used to in the past; instead, frequently a note appears stating that the price will be determined later. It is unclear how the publishing houses will deal with the increased production costs, with the problem of the antiquated equipment of the printing enterprises needing to be replaced soon, and how much of their market they will retain, given the many new competing claims on the nation's disposable income. The situation in Czechoslovak publishing is still (in December 1990) so fluid that any attempt to describe it is necessarily only a snapshot in time.

Publishing in Poland after 1945

Janet Zmroczek

Introduction

Post-war Polish publishing, until very recently, could best be described in terms of its three 'circulations' or *obiegi*. The first 'circulation' consisted of the officially approved products of state firms, non-state firms, mainly belonging to the Church, and a tiny proportion of private publications in small issues such as minor bibliophile editions and exhibition leaflets. The second 'circulation' was formed by clandestine material unacceptable to the censor. The first underground material appeared in 1956 but the foundation of the Komitet Obrony Robotników (KOR)—Committee for the Defence of the Workers—in 1976 stimulated its transition from typewritten sheets to pages duplicated on home-made equipment to ordinary printing, making possible large issues of books, bulletins, newspapers and journals. Emigré publishing has flourished since 1945, particularly in London and Paris. Banned in Poland, and liable to incur heavy penalties for anyone found possessing it, this material, until 1989, constituted the third 'circulation'. This paper covers the first and second 'circulations'; the third 'circulation' is covered in the following paper by Hanna Świdorska.

I. Outline of Polish Publishing Policy to 1976

Establishment of state control of publishing and the liquidation of the private sector 1945–50

The problems facing publishing and the book trade in post-war Poland were immense. During the occupation perhaps some 85% of the books in bookshops and libraries, 70% of those in private hands and 99% of those still in publishers' offices had been destroyed.¹ This, plus the destruction of buildings and equipment and the death of many of those involved in publishing, meant that reconstruction was a daunting task. It was, however, considered a high priority and at the 1945 Trade Union Congress the banner on display read 'Factories—flats—books: these are the three most important tasks for reconstruction'.²

In pre-war Poland a flourishing publishing industry had grown up and in 1946 there was a total of 250 bodies involved in publishing, of which 105

¹ Stanisław Arct, *Odbudowa książki w Polsce* (Warszawa, 1946).

² Maria Danilewiczowa, 'Ruch wydawniczy', *Kultura*, Numer specjalny (Paris, 1952), p. 219.

were private.³ In 1945 many of these pre-war publishers began to rebuild their activities. However, the communists believed in the total control of publishing; the demise of private publishing can be traced from mid-1946. At first the authorities, in no position to meet the enormous book hunger which existed as Poland tried to rebuild her cultural institutions and educational system, were willing to use the expertise and experience of the old private firms. Their continued activity took some pressure off government publishers who were snowed under with orders for administrative documents and official publications linked with reconstruction programmes. Private publishers were even given assistance in the form of credit arrangements with state printers.⁴

This policy of accommodation was short-lived. The imposition of state control began in July 1946 with the establishment of the censorship organ, the Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk (GUKPPiW)—Chief Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Entertainment—directly responsible to the Prime Minister.

In the late 1940s there was much demand for reading material to assist the government's massive education and literacy campaign. Much emphasis was put on the need for new editions of the Polish classics. Private firms such as Gebethner and Wolff were already making considerable contributions in this area, but a decree of 9 April 1946 stated that the 'big twelve' classic writers could only be published with the permission of the Ministry of Culture who would oversee the type of publisher, the quality of output and the copyright fee. In effect, this took away the privilege of publishing these major authors from those old private publishers who had long held their rights. Whilst in theory their companies could compete for the right to publish these works, in practice this lucrative corner of the market was handed over to state publishers such as Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy and Książka i Wiedza.

In 1947 and 1948 *Nowe drogi* and other Communist Party organs constantly criticized the chaotic, unplanned nature of the publishing industry. From 1947 onwards a state register of publishers was kept by the Ministry of Internal Trade. Its aim was, in part, to crack down on 'opportunistic' or pirate publishers, considered to be the worst manifestation of the free-market system. In 1948 a new pricing system was introduced, with preferential tariffs for paper and printing services for state publishing houses. It was becoming increasingly clear that the Party saw no role for private publishers in its cultural revolution. In 1948, it was stated that:

³ Wanda Dąbrowska, 'Dwulecie naszej powojennej produkcji wydawniczej', *Bibliotekarz*, no. 1-2 (1946), p. 163.

⁴ Adam Bromberg, *Książki i wydawcy*, Wyd. nowe (Warsaw, 1966), p. 72.

private publishers are petty capitalists, businessmen who, separated from the capitalist system, have not found a place in our new popular democracy.⁵

In order to produce the 'good cheap book' proposed by Bierut, the Party called for: 'a break with elitist publishing, the steering of all efforts towards satisfying the needs of libraries and the masses—that must be the basic principle of a public publishing plan and consequently the state publishing plan also.'⁶

1949 saw consolidation of control over all aspects of publishing. The State Council issued a decree on 22 April 1949 nationalising the printing industry and declaring that all printers must be licensed by the Ministry of Light Industry. The majority of printing firms were to be under direct state control but a few were to pass to political and social organisations, cooperatives and local government administrations. As of 21 September 1949 publishers of books and other non-periodical publications could operate only under license from the Minister of Internal Trade with consent from the Prime Minister, whereby the publisher agreed to act within the framework of the official plan drawn up by the Committee for Cultural Affairs. Decrees of December 1949 and July 1950 brought the distribution of all books and periodicals under central control through the State Distribution Firm 'Ruch'. Bookshops were also taken under state control and the nationwide institution of the 'Dom Książki' set up. The import and export of publications came under the same authority.

So gradually the private publishers had been squeezed out of the market. Biliński suggests that up to 1950 there were 300 or so private publishers in operation ranging from the large companies to individual authors. They were responsible in 1945 for 55% and in 1947 for 48% of the total number of publications on the market, but by 1948 their share had fallen to 33%, in 1949 to 23% and in 1950 to 8%.⁷ A concerted policy aimed at their liquidation had succeeded by way of restrictive legislation, limited paper supplies—from 1948 paper could only be distributed with permission from the Commission of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers—and unfair competition from state publishers who were charged artificially low prices for supplies and services.

The first five-year plan for publishing and centralisation 1950–55

The years 1950–1955 saw further moves towards centralisation. The six-year plan for the period 1949–55 laid the groundwork for the development of

⁵ Adam Bromberg, 'Zagadnienie planowania wydawnictw', *Nowe drogi*, no. 7 (1948), p. 99.

⁶ Bromberg (note 5), p. 106.

⁷ W. Stańkiewicz and S. Siekierski, 'Kształtowanie się polityki wydawniczej w minionym trzydziestoleciu', *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej* 10 (1974), p. 83.

industry, society and culture according to detailed plans. The plan for publishing was based on a substantially reduced number of enterprises, thus facilitating easier control. In the period 1951–1953 there were only 20–30 publishers in operation. In 1955, of 5029 books published 97% were the product of only 33 publishers.⁸ The aim was to have just one publisher in any particular field such as Państwowe Wydawnictwo Muzyczne for music or Nasza Księgarnia for children's books. There was no competition and minimal effort was required to prevent duplication. The target of the publishing plan for 1949–56 was to increase the number of books published per year to 9000, an increase of 90%, and the yearly print run of newspapers by 82%.

As of 1951 the Central Publishing Commission was replaced by the Centralny Urząd Wydawnictw, Przemysłu Graficznego i Księgarstwa (CUWPGiK)—Central Office of Publishing, the Typographical Industry and Bookselling—whose brief was the direct management of these industries and the control and coordination of all publishing and printing concerns under specific ministries or social and cooperative agencies. The CUWPGiK oversaw the allocation of paper, printing and distribution for all publishers except those directly controlled by ministries such as Ossolineum or Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (PWN). Matters of finance and personnel were in the hands of the CUWPGiK along with control of foreign currency reserves for publishing.

Many opposing demands were made of the newly organised publishing industry in the early 1950s and whilst record high print runs were achieved the needs of Polish readers were still not met. Production of the Polish classics fell way below demand. In 1947, 22% of all titles had been reprints of the classics, but by 1952 they accounted for only 8% of the total.⁹ In 1953 the situation was so bad that every third potential reader of belles-lettres was unable to purchase a single book. Attempts to fill this gap included the publication of highly subsidised series such as *Biblioteka Prasy*, available only to those who subscribed to Party newspapers. Huge subsidies made the running of publishing on an economic footing impossible, as did a system where political prerogatives replaced consumer demand as the regulator of the market. Huge runs of propaganda material were churned out which nobody wanted to read. For example, the thirteen-volume *Works* of Stalin were published in a print run of 1,800,000 whilst scientific and technical textbooks essential for bolstering the reconstruction effort were in acutely short supply. The value of books lying unsold in bookshops and storerooms

⁸ Bromberg (note 4), p. 53.

⁹ Bromberg (note 4), p. 62.

was estimated to be twice that of books sold.¹⁰ Dom Książki bought the entire print run of every book on the day it came out and therefore, whether the book was sold or not was of no interest to the publisher. Books often cost less than the paper on which they were printed; a novel cost the equivalent of two packets of cigarettes, an academic work four.¹¹ This attempt to decommercialise culture backfired in that it placed too great a strain on the resources available.

The thaw and beyond: developments in publishing 1956–1970

In 1956, the late departure of Bierut from the political scene heralded the beginning of the thaw and de-Stalinisation of Polish cultural policy. Much was to change in publishing. New and more realistic paper, printing and postal charges were introduced, leading to a rise in book prices of approximately 40%, and from 1958 booksellers no longer automatically bought the entire print run of each book. Consequently, the period 1957–61 saw a levelling off in publishing output, due in part to some curtailment of the huge runs of propaganda and socialist realist literature, but due also perhaps to a fascination with new forms of mass communication, in particular television.¹² The greatest depression in titles published came in 1958. Yet, in terms of quality, the late 1950s were a time of some progress. The policy of trying to keep Poland completely isolated from Western ideas and literature was slightly relaxed. The publication, albeit selective, of modern world literature had a profound effect on Polish readers and writers. There was a marked growth in the number of history and economic texts and a flowering of new subjects such as sociology and psychology. There was also a move towards publishing some light fiction. Publishing had been very heavily concentrated in Warsaw—the first city to be reconstructed. Kraków was the other major centre. In 1958 75% of all books were published in Warsaw, but in the late 1950s and early 1960s new publishing houses were opened in Poznań, Lublin, Łódź and other provincial centres. Links with the outside world were forged at the first International Bookfair, held in Poznań in 1956, and moved in later years to Warsaw. The Ars Polona organisation was set up to sell Polish books abroad and there was a corresponding increase in foreign books and rights bought for the Polish market. However, international cooperation remained to a great extent limited to the Soviet bloc. The Polskie Towarzystwo Wydawców Książek (Polish Book Publishers' Association), liquidated in 1950, was reactivated in 1956, to be joined by two new societies for those involved in the world of books, the Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Książek

¹⁰ Stańkiewicz and Siekierski (note 7), p. 85.

¹¹ Bromberg (note 4), p. 63.

¹² B. Gołębiowski, 'Ruch wydawniczy—refleksje nie tylko rocznicowe', *Nowe drogi*, no. 7 (1974), p. 177.

(Society of Booklovers) and the Stowarzyszenie Księgarzy Polskich (Polish Booksellers' Association). Publishers were once again encouraged to take a creative interest in their work, to search out worthwhile new writers and to identify and commission new quality texts.

The 1960s began with the lowest book production statistics since the war; this can be partially attributed to the need to export paper, thus leaving little for the home market, and better conditions for authors which entailed a growth in credits to pay authors' fees.

Whilst the Fourth Party Congress in 1964 still emphasised the important role which publishing must play in the 'cultural offensive', the 1960s were characterised by unsatisfied reader demand, and a shortage of school textbooks remained a particular problem. There was however a marked growth in the number of scientific and technical books published. In his last two years of power, following the events of 1968, Gomułka launched an ambitious reform programme which aimed to attract Western cooperation and equipment. However, selective investment in areas such as electronics, machine-tools and the chemical industry starved other sectors of funds.

It was against this background that a major reorganisation of the publishing industry took place in March 1970. Publishing was to be directed by the Zjednoczenie Przedsiębiorstw Wydawniczych Naczelny Zarząd Wydawnictw (Union of Polish Publishing Houses Central Board of Publishing) which took over those institutions previously under the direct control of the Ministry of Culture and Art. By means of special agreements publishers controlled by other ministries and public organisations were linked to it. The main tasks of the Board were to draw up and administer a publishing plan and to improve both the financial and general management of publishing, printing and bookselling and the standard of editorial work. In all there were forty-eight publishers operating in Poland at this time, thirty-six of which were located in Warsaw. The Ministry of Culture and Art was responsible for paper allocation. Paper shortages remained a perennial problem, making it impossible to fulfil the targets set in the plan. There was lively discussion in the press about the failure to meet reader demand for books.

Under the leadership of Gierek, in the early 1970s Poland tried its own 'great leap forward'. 1972–5 saw major new investment in all spheres of the economy including publishing. New printing houses were equipped with modern presses and the pool of paper was increased, 40% of it imported. As a result the number of items published per head of the population grew considerably, from 3.6 in 1970 to 4.5 in 1973 and 6.4 in 1975. However still more books were needed, especially for educational purposes.¹³

¹³ For an outline of events in publishing in the early 1970s, see Lucjan Biliński, *Zarys dziejów ruchu wydawniczego w PRL* (Warsaw, 1976).

II. Censorship

*I tak bardzo żal mi Marka
Że pracuje jako cenzor
I zabija ludzkie myśli jak zwierzęta*

And how I pity Marek
For working as a censor
And slaughtering human ideas as if they were livestock¹⁴

Jan Kelus song from 1970s

In post-war Poland, censorship was always officially referred to by the euphemism 'control of the press and publications'.

In the 1940s preventative censorship was introduced; texts were examined before publication and permission to publish was granted or refused. The Chief Office for the Control of the Press, Publications and Entertainments (GUKPPiW) was given legal identity by the decree of 5 July 1946 and further powers were added on 28 July 1948, including the granting of permission to publish periodicals and control of printing works. This last point was the enabling legislation preceding the decree of 1949 which nationalised the printing industry. It gave the censor the power to intervene if material was deemed: incompatible with the political system of the People's Republic of Poland; to divulge state secrets; to damage international relations; to break laws or good customs or habits or to spread falsehoods. It remained in force until 1981 ensuring that, until the advent of underground publishing, whole subjects and areas of knowledge were placed outside the sphere of publishers in Poland and became the exclusive province of emigré publishing houses.

As described by Marek Świca, a senior adviser at the Lublin regional office of the censorship for twenty-two years,¹⁵ the censors' activities were absolutely secret. On joining the office in the 1960s he underwent rigorous training on what could and could not be said to outsiders, followed by a two-month course in basic procedures. An impeccable political record was, of course, a prerequisite for the job. Therefore one of the most sensational information leaks in post-war Poland was the handing over to KOR (Committee for Defence of the Workers) in 1977 by Tomasz Strzyzewski, a former GUKPPiW employee, of a vast body of material revealing the innermost workings of the Warsaw censorship. Publication of this material by Aneks in London¹⁶ caused a political storm. At last there was hard

¹⁴ From *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 8 stycznia 1990.

¹⁵ M. Świca and M. Rybinski, 'Czy cenzor myli się tylko raz?', *Kontakt*, 11/88, pp. 32–45.

¹⁶ *Czarna księga cenzury PRL* (London, Aneks, 1977–8). Vol. 1 contains the *Księżka zapisów i zaleceń*, the censor's bible on which all decisions were based, and Vol. 2 a collection of information about material examined and action taken.

evidence that the censorship, far from concerning itself purely with matters which posed a threat to the security and defence of the nation, acted to preserve the Party's monopoly of information, withholding from the public sensitive information concerning all spheres of social, public, political and economic life. From amongst thousands of similar detailed instructions one can pick out the following:

Do not allow publication in the mass media of any statistics relating to alcoholism and its growth on a nationwide scale.

Do not allow any material to be published about the sale of Polish meat to the Soviet Union.

At School No. 80 in Gdańsk a dangerous substance has been detected in material used to seal windows. Classes have been suspended. Do not allow any information whatsoever on this subject to be released.

No information must be published about the disaster at the 'Katowice' mine in which four miners were killed.¹⁷

At times the mention of particular names or works was under a blanket ban¹⁸ but often, especially in the fields of literature, culture and the social sciences, many of the 400 or so censors had to rely on their own judgement and discrimination. Świca confirmed that, despite formally being controlled by the Central Office, answerable to the State Council, decisions really came from Party headquarters. Reports were sent annually to the Central Office by the regional offices but these were often falsified, always charting fewer interventions than had actually occurred.

The decree of 31 July 1981 'On the Control of Publications and Entertainments' changed the situation considerably. It provided for marking the place where the censor had intervened, followed by a quotation in full of the article in law which had been breached. Particular use of this method of indicating the censor's activity was made by *Tygodnik Solidarność* and *Tygodnik Powszechny*. For a few months in 1981, many publications were removed from the censor's orbit, including internal bulletins of Solidarity and other social organisations, but the imposition of martial law put a stop to this new-found freedom. This state of affairs was prolonged by amendments to the decree on censorship in July 1983 regarding publications threatening to the security and defence of the state. The extent of the censor's interventions varied considerably. Whole articles could be cut on certain particularly sensitive subjects such as Katyń, the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and other matters of Polish-Soviet relations. The general rule was that nothing should be published regarding the Soviet Union which would not be

¹⁷ *Czarna księga* ... (note 16), t. 1, pp. 7-9.

¹⁸ *Czarna księga* ... (note 16), t. 1, p. 66. See, for example, a list from 21 February 1976, including Stanisław Barańczak, Stefan Kisielewski, Jan Józef Lipski and Marek Nowakowski.

published there. Far more common were small but strategic cuts. This was often the tactic with *Tygodnik Powszechny*: an article would be rendered senseless with the astute censorship of a few carefully chosen lines and the editorial board would have no option but to remove it. The censor's role extended to the control of foreign publications via the concept of 'debit'. Debit means the freedom to circulate publications on Polish soil or to have them in one's private possession. In practice the right to grant 'debit' did not belong exclusively to the GUKPPiW but also to policemen, customs officers and other individuals who used it as a pretext to seize anything they construed to be suspicious. The 1988 list of 'non-debit' periodicals included *Zeszyty literackie*, *Kultura*, *Kontakt*, *Puls* and *Aneks*.

As a result of the Round Table Agreements of May 1989 there was a partial return to the more liberal decree of 1981 and a removal of the 'elastic' regulations regarding state security and the dissemination of material 'obviously constituting a criminal act'. This latter was the regulation used to make it impossible to write about Solidarity. In 1989 the spokeswoman for the Solidarity-led government, Małgorzata Niezabitowska, announced that in 1988 there had been 2,528 interventions by the censor, an increase of 13% over 1987. Of these 80% had been in just 20 titles out of a total of 3400—mainly titles published by the disobedient Catholic presses. Eventually, in April 1990, after discussions on whether some form of censorship was required to protect the public from pornography and other social evils, the censorship was lifted by a vote of 266 for, none against, and eight abstentions.

III. The Press: David and Goliath—*Gazeta Wyborcza* and RSW

RSW

In the immediate post-war period there was a boom in the number of periodical titles, particularly of daily newspapers. In 1944–5 there were 374 periodicals including 42 dailies, by 1948 there were 136 dailies out of a total of 790 periodicals. Thereafter no statistics are available until 1955 when a marked rise is to be noted in the number of periodical titles—from 638 in 1955 to 2630 in 1973, but the record high in daily papers is never approached, with 43 published in 1955 and 56 in 1973.¹⁹

The history of officially produced Polish periodicals in the post-war period has largely been the history of RSW Prasa-Książka-Ruch (Workers' Publishing Cooperative), an example of the type of unwieldy dinosaur created by the communist regime and a symbol of the corruption and malpractices which characterised much of the state sector of the economy.

¹⁹ Biblioteka Narodowa, Instytut Bibliograficzny, *Ruch wydawniczy w liczbach 1944–1973* (Warsaw, 1974), p. 27.

The RSW organisation started life on 25 April 1949 as the Robotnicza Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 'Prasa'. It was set up by the Central Committee of the Communist Party with its stated aim being

The popularisation of the programme of the PZPR [Communist Party] and the raising of socialist consciousness, the formation of patriotic attitudes and a general knowledge of social and public affairs.²⁰

It brought together the property and titles of fourteen previously separate institutions. Over the years it staged takeovers of numerous other periodical publishers' titles, including those of Czytelnik in 1950 and Ruch in 1973. As a result, on the eve of martial law in December 1981, RSW published 271 titles including forty-five dailies with a regular print-run of over 21.8 million copies.²¹

In theory RSW was a cooperative, but it was a typical enterprise of a one-party state, publishing almost all newspapers and holding a monopoly of distribution, sales and printing. RSW owned the entire network of 'Ruch' kiosks, the only permanent outlets for the periodical press. Its net stretched far wider than periodicals: it controlled three major book publishers, Książka i Wiedza, Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza and Młodzieżowa Agencja Wydawnicza, which together accounted for 13% of all commercial publishers' titles and 17% of all copies published in 1987, the import and export of newspapers and magazines via Ars Polona, the photographic service CAF and the foreign news service Interpress. The RSW monopoly first came in for criticism in 1981: not only was it a Party instrument maintaining a monopoly over access to information; it was also the major source of funds for the PZPR. Thousands of millions of zloty worth of profits flooded into the Party coffers untaxed. Each time a person bought newspapers or cigarettes, razor blades or condoms from a Ruch kiosk they were contributing to PZPR funds. It is still not clear exactly how much the Party received from RSW but in 1986 it is known to have provided 87.4% of the PZPR annual budget.

As of late 1989 the picture changed radically when reforms resulting from the Round Table Agreement and the formation of a Solidarity-led government brought in market prices for paper, printing and transport, ending RSW's preferential treatment and subjecting it to tax demands. By the end of 1989, RSW's contribution to PZPR funds had fallen by half and it controlled only 160 titles of which seventy-three were running at a loss. RSW began to close down Ruch kiosks and rural reading rooms and dismiss thousands of its 80,000 workforce. The profile of the Polish press industry was rapidly

²⁰ A. Chećko and M. Henzler in *Polityka*, 13 (1717), 1990, p. 3.

²¹ Chećko and Henzler (note 20).

changing; the underground press had 'come out', the role of the censorship was strictly limited, a free market in paper was being introduced and plans were underway to introduce social control of the mass media. On 20 March 1990 the government accepted the project for a law to liquidate RSW. It provided for the setting up of a Liquidation Commission to oversee the process. Constituent units of RSW could be handed over to cooperatives made up of at least 50% of the former workforce. All those remaining, plus other assets, would be sold off and after discharge of outstanding debts any profits would be paid into state funds.

In mid-1990 the future of the Polish press remains unclear. There are various interest groups who might wish to take over existing titles complete with an established readership, accommodation, equipment and experienced personnel. These include Solidarity and publishers emerging from underground, new political parties, the Church and private enterprises, both Polish and foreign. At present the Polish press remains in crisis: newspapers and magazines are becoming expensive, non-essential items which the beleaguered man or woman in the street can no longer afford. In the early months of 1990 sales had dropped by a further 25% from the already depressed levels of 1989. This did not discourage a nationwide mushrooming of new privately published periodicals, ranging from monthly magazines to daily newspapers, many of which, however, folded in their infancy.

Gazeta Wyborcza

'Nie ma wolności bez Solidarności' (There is no freedom without Solidarity). Thus ran the slogan on the first issue of *Gazeta Wyborcza* on 8 June 1989, the first mass-circulation independent non-communist daily newspaper in Eastern Europe since the imposition of communist rule. It resulted from agreements forged at the panel on the mass media at the Round Table talks and, besides carrying information about the elections, soon developed into a lively and innovative daily paper. The first issue was printed in 150,000 copies, with the following comment from the editors:

Dear Readers,

Here, after forty years, is the first normal mass-circulation independent newspaper in Poland and probably in the whole Soviet bloc. By normal, we mean a paper which tries above all to inform comprehensively, quickly and objectively, clearly separating commentary from information. Up to now, we've only heard about such papers, but now we intend to produce one ourselves ...

In the early days of its existence such was its popularity that in May 1989 copies were being xeroxed and sold at double the official price of 50 zloty on

Plac Konstytucji in Warsaw.²² People were amazed at the high quality of production achieved so rapidly. This was due to the input of technical expertise and equipment by the long-running and highly respected underground newspaper *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. The copy was like a refreshing blast of fresh air after the turgid style of the Party papers. Punchy and ironic headlines and a sense of humour, which extended even to the weather forecast, exercised enormous appeal after the hackneyed 'nowomowa' or 'newspeak' of *Trybuna Ludu*. *Gazeta Wyborcza* intended to try to represent the ideas of the whole independent movement and not simply become an organ for Solidarity. However it did not manage to keep its distance from the political melee as factionalism began to tear Solidarity apart, and antagonism between Wałęsa and Michnik, the chief editor, resulted in September 1990 in the withdrawal of the paper's right to use the Solidarity logo.

Other newspapers published as a result of the Round Table Agreements include the revived *Tygodnik Solidarność*, the more theoretically oriented Solidarity weekly, edited by Mazowiecki before his election as Prime Minister, and the weekly addressing specifically rural issues, *Solidarność Tygodnik Rolników*.²³

IV. Catholic Publishers: PAX and *Tygodnik Powszechny*

In the immediate post-war period there existed, alongside flourishing private publishers, a highly productive network of Catholic publishers who published over 700 titles in the period 1944–47.²⁴ By far the most prolific Catholic publisher has been the Instytut Wydawniczy PAX. From 1949 to 1987 PAX published approximately 3,300 books including bibles, prayer books, philosophical and theological works, belles-lettres both Polish and foreign, socio-political and historical texts and works by members of the PAX organisation including its founder Piasecki. The organisation has frequently been at the centre of controversy due to its policy of compromise and cooperation with the communist government. Piasecki was a leading right-wing nationalist, member of the Falange, who after the war initiated dialogue between 'socially progressive' Catholics and the communists. Piasecki built up a financial base so as not to be seen taking compromising

²² *Gazeta Wyborcza* (17), 31 maja 1989.

²³ Since March 1990 a selection of items from *Gazeta Wyborcza* has been published in English translation in the weekly *Gazeta International*, which changed format and title in 1991 to *The Insider*.

²⁴ Bromberg (note 4), p. 14. The output of religious publications by both religious and secular publishers up to 1965 can be examined in two useful bibliographies, *Spis bibliograficzny wydawnictw religijnych w Polsce 1944–55* (Warsaw, 1956) with an introduction by Jerzy Turowicz, editor of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, and *Książka katolicka w Polsce 1945–65: spis bibliograficzny* (Warsaw, 1966). The latter contains 4,567 entries by 1,310 authors.

government grants, and gradually PAX became the largest non-state enterprise in the communist world. When private publishing and printing firms were liquidated he took over many of their former employees and their property. Periodical publications of the PAX organisation included *Dziś i jutro* (1945–56), *Słowo Powszechne* (1947–) and *Kierunki* (1956–). Relations with the Church were always rocky and in the 1950s the clergy were forbidden to subscribe to *Słowo Powszechne* or *Dziś i jutro*. Stefan Wyszyński, then Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, described Piasecki and PAX as ‘Catholic social renegades’.²⁵ In 1950, despite persecution of the Church, the Episcopate signed an agreement with the government who promised religious education in schools and guaranteed the existence of Catholic organisations, publishers and press. However, in 1953 a decree was passed subjecting clerical appointments to state approval. This was followed, in September of the same year, by the arrest of Wyszyński, now the Polish Primate, and by the crisis surrounding *Tygodnik Powszechny*, the Catholic social and cultural weekly.

The first issue of *Tygodnik Powszechny* had been published in March 1945 by the brave and uncompromising Archbishop Sapieha, a few weeks after Kraków’s liberation by the Red Army. From October 1945 it was edited by Turowicz. The first issue stated

Tygodnik Powszechny will be an apolitical paper with no party affiliations. Therefore we exclude from it current political problems and party struggles.²⁶

According to Stefan Kisielewski’s view, the Party accepted the setting up of *Tygodnik Powszechny* so as to divert attention away from the strong peasant left-oriented party of Witos and Mikołajczyk by encouraging intellectual groupings.²⁷ But in 1953 *Tygodnik Powszechny* ran into problems over its opinions on relations between the State and the Episcopate and its refusal to declare itself an enemy of the West. In March 1953, on the pretext of its having failed to publish an article mourning Stalin, *Tygodnik Powszechny* was liquidated after the editorial board refused to accept Party proposals for a change of personnel. The Party decided to pass *Tygodnik Powszechny* into the trustworthy hands of PAX who were to continue its publication with entirely new staff. The Polish Primate, before his arrest later in the year, wrote a letter dated 15 July 1953, stating that the new publication had nothing to do with the old editorial board and that the use of the title was illegal and an attempt to profit from the paper’s previously good

²⁵ A. Micewski, *Współrzędzić czy nie kłamać: PAX i Znak w Polsce 1945–76* (Paris, 1978), p. 35.

²⁶ Micewski (note 25), p. 162.

²⁷ Micewski (note 25), p. 164.

name in Polish society.²⁸ The last 'genuine' issue of *Tygodnik Powszechny* was that of 8 March 1953 (no. 8 (414)). The next was issued by PAX on 12 July 1953 and numbered 10 (416). From August 1953 the editorial board consisted of Jan Dobraczyński, M. Kurzyna and W. Wnuk. This 'hijacked' version lasted until 1955 when it was wound up along with *Dziś i jutro*, and PAX published in their place the new journal *Kierunki*.

In October 1956 a group of Catholic activists and writers, in an open letter to *Życie Warszawy*, expressed their desire to support Gomulka's plan for a new Poland and stated that PAX did not represent the views of the Catholic intelligentsia. A meeting with Gomulka on 31 October 1956 led to a revival of *Tygodnik Powszechny* and also *Znak*, the closely linked Catholic monthly which had also ceased publication in 1953. (In 1957 the *Znak* book publishing house was set up under the directorship of Jacek Wozniakowski, specialising in the humanities and religious life.) Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the print run of *Tygodnik Powszechny* was subject to reduction as a punishment: in 1964 it was down to 30,000, putting its continued existence into question. After the strikes of 1970, *Tygodnik Powszechny* came out strongly in support of the workers, and said that government and society had become too distanced. Some believed that *Tygodnik Powszechny* and *Znak* could not be truly independent whilst linked to the parliamentary group 'Znak'. This possible duality came to an end in 1976 when the 'Znak' group decided it could no longer remain in the political arena.²⁹

The attitude of Polish society towards the paper is probably best summed up in Adam Michnik's editorial of May 1990, 'Why we love *Tygodnik Powszechny*':³⁰

For the fact that the *Tygodnik* was proved right by history—knew to choose a wise compromise in 1945, but in 1953 to show steadfast resistance when it refused to print Stalin's obituary, for which it paid with liquidation We love the *Tygodnik* because it always knew how to interpret wisely the signs of the times in 1956, 1968, 1980, in the difficult period of martial law and today ... for the fact that articles are written in blood or ink—but never in vaseline

We love the *Tygodnik* because it created a certain school of honesty in Polish public life We hope that it will one day be said of us and our editorial board—they are from the school of *Tygodnik Powszechny*.

In general terms, print runs of books and newspapers from the Catholic publishers have been small and in much demand. *Tygodnik Powszechny*'s

²⁸ Micewski (note 25), p. 57.

²⁹ For an assessment of *Tygodnik Powszechny*'s situation in the late 1980s, see P. Kukielewski's interview with its editor Maciej Kozłowski 'Burza przymieła i gospodarzowi się dziękuje', *Kontakt*, 9/89, pp. 3–18.

³⁰ *Gazeta Wyborcza* (71), 24–25 maja 1990, p. 1.

1989 print run of 100,000 far from satisfied demand and the Katowice-based *Gazeta Niedzielną* always sold its 200,000 copies at churches. Print runs of books also failed to meet reader demand and sold out with remarkable speed despite their relatively high prices. The 1987 official statistics³¹ show PAX to be by far the largest Catholic publisher, with 117 titles and a total of 2,858,600 copies, followed by Księgarnia św. Wojciecha with 35 titles, W Drodze with 24, Znak with 20 and Pallotinum with 15.

V. Underground Publishing

KOR and the foundations of independent publishing

Poland has a long and proud history of clandestine publishing and 'alternative' culture dating back to the era of the partitions. From 1939 to 1945 Poles ran the largest underground printing operation in occupied Europe: 200 printers produced 1,400 book titles and 1,500 periodicals.³²

In the post-war period the combination of censorship and rigid state control of the importation of material from abroad meant that the communist authorities maintained a stranglehold over the 'official' dissemination of Polish culture. In the 'thaw' years after 1956, the first samizdat material began to circulate in intellectual circles, in the form of multiple copies of typed pages. It was not until 1976 that underground publishing took off, but when it did, it developed rapidly into a huge industry and an effective weapon in the opposition's struggle against attempts to stifle freedom of speech and of information. 1976 was a major turning point in the history of the Polish opposition movement. Before this time there had been little contact between two equally disillusioned groups: workers and intellectuals. They were brought together by KOR (Committee for Defence of the Workers), a group who decided to give practical help to the victims of police brutality and state victimisation after the huge Ursus and Radom workers' demonstrations. KOR arranged material aid for the arrested workers' families and found defence lawyers for the accused.

KOR began to publish a *Komunikat* which as of Autumn 1976 was printed on a duplicator purchased in a French toyshop and smuggled into Poland, followed by the *Biuletyn Informacyjny* and the fortnightly newspaper *Robotnik* (The Worker). In September 1977 *Robotnik* appeared as a single sheet—by Autumn 1978 it had grown into a twelve-page screen-printed newspaper issued in over 20,000 copies.³³ The editorial board included

³¹ Biblioteka Narodowa, Instytut Bibliograficzny, *Ruch wydawniczy w liczbach*, 23:1987 (Warsaw, 1989), p. 14.

³² W. Pilecki's statistics in Hanna Świdorska's 'Independent Publishing in Poland: An Outline of its Development to 1986', *Solanus*, vol. 1 (1987), pp. 54–75.

³³ Neal Ascherson, *The Struggles for Poland* (London, 1987), p. 194.

workers from enterprises throughout Poland. *Robotnik* encouraged the formation of free trade unions and gave advice on how to organise strikes and formulate demands for improved pay and conditions whilst publicising the appalling conditions in which many people worked. News of industrial accidents, for example, was almost never published by the official press, the censor having been directed to suppress any such negative reporting. By 1978, in various cities across Poland, tiny free trade union groups had begun to hold meetings, and in April a committee of workers and young intellectuals in Gdańsk issued their first bulletin. The group called itself the Free Trade Unions of the Coast. People were amazed by the ability of the underground publishers to produce and distribute so large a volume of material in a police state. By 1978 there were about nineteen independent publications circulating in a country where access to printing equipment, duplicators and even ink were under strict supervision. Quality and content varied enormously, perhaps the most impressive publication being *Zapis*, a literary-historical review published by NOWa,³⁴ the first and most influential of the independent underground publishing houses.

NOWa was founded in 1977 by Mirosław Chojecki and run by him and a small group including Grzegorz Boguta, now director of PWN, with frequent assistance from Adam Michnik. Early publications included *Zapis* and the afore-mentioned *Czarna księga cenzury PRL*. Having started out with a simple duplicating machine, by the time *Zapis* No. 3 (Konwicki's *Kompleks Polski*) was issued the quality was so high that the police were convinced that it had been produced abroad and smuggled into Poland. *Zapis* No. 10 (Konwicki's *Mała Apokalipsa*) ran to 10,000 copies, probably a record for the period up to August 1980. After the signing of the Gdańsk Agreement and the legalisation of Solidarity, NOWa was heavily involved in printing for Solidarity, including leaflets, informational material and projects for laws. However, this did not prevent the publication in Autumn 1980 of NOWa's hundredth title, Kazimierz Brandys's *Miesiąc*.

In the period 1976–1980, 100 titles of bulletins and newspapers were published, some in issues of tens of thousands, and 300 book and pamphlet titles. As in the case of NOWa, larger publishers graduated from home-made duplicating machines to screen printing and eventually to sophisticated offset printing with machinery donated by friends and sympathisers and smuggled in from the West. Another common method of achieving high quality printing was to get independent material printed on officially controlled government machinery after hours. Smaller publishers continued to produce

³⁴ See Jan Józef Lipski's *KOR*, published London, Aneks, 1983, and cited by Z. Jagodziński in 'Wydawnictwa niezależne w Polsce', *Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej*, t. 3: *Bieżące zagadnienia krajowe*, pod red. Jana Drewnowskiego (London, 1986), p. 203.

their materials by very primitive methods. An early clandestine pamphlet, *Poradnik drukarza*, gave detailed instructions with diagrams on how to make simple printing equipment.

Solidarity and martial law: independent publishing and the creation of an alternative Polish culture

The legalisation of Solidarity in 1980 led to an explosion of publishing activity throughout the country. Up to the declaration of martial law, 1,500–2,000 bulletins and periodical titles, and 1,000 books were published. The fruit of this outstanding effort was exhibited at the Frankfurt International Bookfair in Autumn 1981. However, the open activities of the previously clandestine publishers meant that when, on 13 December 1981, martial law was declared, they were easily identifiable, and were arrested in large numbers. Yet, with determination and bravery, dedicated supporters of the freedom of information quickly regrouped. Literally within hours of the declaration, striking factories had begun to produce bulletins. With the input of new and enthusiastic young people who refused to be intimidated by the prospect of heavy prison sentences, clandestine publishing recovered to the extent that between 13 December 1981 and 31 December 1982 1,500 new titles and continuations of bulletins and newspapers were issued and approximately 280 books and pamphlets. Of these about 50% were from Warsaw, 30% from Kraków and the rest from other major cities.³⁵ On 22 March 1983 General Kiszczak, the Minister for Home Affairs, reported that in the preceding fifteen months 368 high-performance printing machines of Western origin had been seized.³⁶

Immediately after the declaration of martial law, the need for practical information had been paramount. Pamphlets and bulletins contained advice and instructions on how to behave if arrested, how to organise resistance, and reports on those arrested and interned. Anonymity was essential; statements such as: 'edited by a collective', 'printed by a collective', 'distributed by a collective', 'By collective action we will triumph' or 'the address of the editorial office is known only to the editors' were common.³⁷ Many journals and bulletins were ephemeral, but others established themselves as essential reading for anyone who wished to keep abreast of current literature, thought and social developments in Poland and abroad. As Kamińska suggests,³⁸

³⁵ Świdarska (note 32), p. 58.

³⁶ Świdarska (note 32), p. 59.

³⁷ Jagodziński (note 34), p. 211.

³⁸ Bibliographies of this material from the early 1980s have been produced by Józefa Kamińska, *Bibliografia publikacji podziemnych w Polsce: 13 XII 1981–VI 1986* (Paris, 1988), and Józef Gajewski, *Materiały do bibliografii druków zwartych wydanych poza zasięgiem cenzury, 1982–1986* (Krakow, 1988), vol. 19, in the series *Archiwum Solidarności: Relacje i opracowania*. Gajewski's bibliography is to be continued to cover the period to 1989.

underground publications were not so much competition for official publishers but rather supplementary to them.³⁹ Publication of periodicals was at a high in 1982–3 (766 in 1982 and 617 in 1983) but gradually fell, reaching 491 in 1985. Book and pamphlet publishing recovered from 273 titles in 1982 to 636 in 1985, but fell to 183 in the first six months of 1986.⁴⁰ Kamińska's statistics show that approximately 37% of the underground books and pamphlets published in 1981–1986 were on socio-political subjects, 16% were belles-lettres, 10% history, 6% religion and 3% memoirs. There were also songs, cartoons and collections of photo-reportage. As well as original publications there were large numbers of reprints from emigré publishers, especially Instytut Literacki and Spotkania in Paris and Puls and Polonia in London, who gave permission to publish so that Poles in Poland could have access to important texts which would otherwise only reach this vital section of their potential readership via a few copies smuggled in at great risk to the carrier. There was also a large number of translations of socio-political, historical and literary texts, including Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* published in Polish by Wydawnictwo in 1985, and many works by Orwell, including *1984*, *Animal Farm* and *Homage to Catalonia*. The quality of publications still varied enormously, ranging from the prestigious *Folwark Zwierzęcy* (Animal Farm) in hardback with colour plates (Kraków, Oficyna Literacka, 1985) to small and smudged reprints in A6 or A7 format.

Distribution was carried out by a network of people who put themselves at considerable risk; in 1986, printers, editors and distributors accounted for 90% of all political prisoners.⁴¹ Originally, underground material had been distributed free of charge but after much debate most publishers began to try to charge realistic prices, although heavy reliance was still placed on donations from the West. The most prolific publishers included NOWa, CDN, Głos, Krąg, Przedświt and Oficyna Literacka.⁴²

The later 1980s: relaxation of harassment

In the later 1980s the authorities allowed a certain relaxation of the harsh measures previously taken against independent publishers. Imprisonment was replaced by heavy fines and a particularly irksome punishment—the confiscation of the accused's car. Cars were difficult and expensive to obtain and were essential for the ferrying of supplies and new publications between

³⁹ Kamińska (note 38), p. 22.

⁴⁰ Kamińska (note 38), p. 21.

⁴¹ Świdorska (note 32), p. 59.

⁴² Lists of publishers along with profiles of their activities can be found in Świdorska (note 32), in Kamińska's bibliography, and in Autumn 1989 issues of *Gazeta Wyborcza* which carried a regular column entitled 'Niezależni' (The Independents) which gave a sketch of the history and main achievements of a large number of underground publishers.

printers, publishers and distributors. Distribution points were organised in private flats and by 1986-1987 they were, in general, rarely raided by the security forces. By 1988 the situation had become even more relaxed, and independent publications could be bought and sold quite openly, for example, from the stalls at Warsaw University or at the Sunday second-hand book market in Kraków. A further breakthrough was the presence of independent publishers at the Warsaw International Bookfair in May 1989.

A critical view of the independent press in the late 1980s was given by the well-known underground journalist Dawid Warszawski.⁴³ He estimated that approximately 3,500,000 people read independent papers and journals. The readership was primarily urban and under fifty, the producers tended to come from the urban intelligentsia of the forty to fifty age-group. Most independent journalists made a living from another job and were therefore likely to keep in touch with the needs of their readership. Many potential readers were likely to be discouraged by high prices. Warszawski considered that the downturn in publishing figures from the highpoint of 1,300 titles immediately after martial law was due to natural market forces and consumer choice between titles carrying similar information rather than to successful police action.⁴⁴

Four main trends could now be detected in the independent press: union publications such as *Wola*, *CDN* and *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, political publications including *Robotnik* and *Niepodległość*, and the intellectual journals of the type of *Krytyka*. The fourth and newest trend consisted of youth and punk journals of which there were seven or eight in Warsaw alone.⁴⁵ For the first two categories, Warszawski questioned the use of the term 'independent' to describe them all, given that the majority expounded the view of a particular political group. Exceptions included *Polityka*, *Arka* and the occasionally controversial *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych* which set out precisely to be a non-party political newspaper and remained so until it ceased publication in Spring 1990. Warszawski criticised the underground press as a whole for its parochialism and a tendency to tread too carefully on internal political issues, as a result of affiliations to particular groupings. At the same time, however, he recognised the enormous responsibilities of the journalists who were often put in the daunting position of 'creators of history'.

As a result of competition from the independent press who had successfully broken their monopoly over information, the official press was

⁴³ Dawid Warszawski, 'Drugi obieg—plusy i minusy', *Kultura*, no. 6 (501), 1989.

⁴⁴ Warszawski (note 43), p. 84.

⁴⁵ Warszawski (note 43), p. 86.

stimulated into publishing material on previously taboo subjects. The same trend was visible in book publishing.

Relaxation of official hostility towards independent publishers ensured at the Round Table talks marked a fundamental change in their situation. In May 1989, Boguta summed up the achievements of the independent publishers:

I have the feeling that this particular epoch is coming to a close. Shortly after the June 1976 strikes we set up NOWa. Over the next twelve years we published almost 400 books. The output of the independent publishing industry over this period is estimated to be 2,500 books. Our books sell like hot cakes despite increased print runs from 3,000 to 5–6,000.

The current political situation is our victory too. The authorities concluded that fighting underground publishers by police tactics was going nowhere. Today books previously published by independent publishers are being officially published in print runs of many thousands to be sold in state bookshops.⁴⁶

He went on to outline the major problems facing independent publishers in the new situation: an unwillingness to come out into the open whilst censorship still existed and problems of distribution and sales. There was also the difficulty of procuring paper and the consequent need to raise prices.

Under the auspices of the Consortium of Independent Publishers (including CDN, Myśl, NOWa and Przedświt), the Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa (Association of the Free Word) was established. It aimed to set up a network of clubs throughout the country where readers of uncensored books could discuss new literature, meet authors and make proposals for new publications. Group members would be able to pool resources to afford the high prices resulting from increased paper and production costs, and costs could be kept down by selling directly to the clubs. In mid-1989 the response was very good especially in rural areas poorly served by existing libraries and booksellers. It demonstrated the partial survival of an educated rural middle-class anxious to keep abreast of cultural and political developments. However, after Solidarity's victory in the June elections and the resulting reforms, including immediate attention to the question of lifting the censorship, the role of the independent publisher began to lose its previous relevance. By the end of the year many had either folded or decided to register and to function openly in competition with other private and state firms. Those who chose to stay underground were open to accusations of hiding profit-motives behind an ostensibly political stance and a wish to avoid taxes. A whole generation of publishers, printers and distributors who had taken huge risks in order to ensure the survival of freedom of information

⁴⁶ *Gazeta Wyborcza* (8), 17 maja 1989.

no longer had a role to play. Some went to work for registered publishers but many felt themselves to be the 'superfluous' men and women of the new decade.

VI. Polish Publishing in Crisis: Which Way Forward?

Despite heartfelt pleas from many quarters that newly liberated Polish culture should be nurtured and, to some extent, protected from economic collapse and the chaos which faces other industries, Balcerowicz's economic reform programme, which has as one of its central postulates the end of government subsidies to ailing industries, has been applied rigidly to publishing as to all other sectors. Even before the introduction of these draconian measures there had been clear indications of a growing crisis for Polish publishing. There was the question of paper. Poland is herself a paper producer, yet due to the desperate need to earn hard currency, even in 1989, despite an official ban on paper exports, 300,000 tons of paper were exported to Austria.⁴⁷ In 1988 there was only 10 kg of printed paper per head of the Polish population in comparison with 52 kg per head in France and 78 kg in West Germany.⁴⁸ In line with galloping inflation paper prices had risen from 300 zloty per kilo in June 1989 to 5,000 zloty per kilo in January 1990. Polish paper prices sometimes exceeded those in the West. In comparison with figures for 1988, the number of book titles published in 1989 fell by 15.5%, the number of copies by 13.1%.⁴⁹ There was an even larger decline in the purchase of books, as pressure on family budgets rendered expenditure on cultural activities and books an unaffordable luxury.

A centralised publishing policy is being replaced by a free-market approach which has put the large, long-established state publishing houses, with their histories of over-long production schedules and lack of technological innovation, under threat of bankruptcy. Until recently there were only about fifty publishers in Poland controlled by the state, supplemented by a fluctuating independent sector and a growing number of private publishers. The private sector now numbers several hundred and includes those previously underground who have registered for tax purposes, and a vast number of new ventures. Many of these new companies can be likened to the 'pirates' of the 1940s, keen to make a killing and often operating outside the legal framework of copyright. The *stoliki* (bookstalls) which have mushroomed in city streets throughout the country to the detriment of bookshops,

⁴⁷ Barbara Seidler, 'Kondycja książki', *Życie literackie*, 17 grudnia 1989, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Seidler (note 47).

⁴⁹ Piotr Wojciechowski, 'Na odsiecz książce', *Przegląd katolicki*, 8 kwietnia 1990, p. 5.

many of which are facing bankruptcy, do a brisk trade in soft pornography, books on the supernatural and astrology, trashy romantic fiction and thrillers, as well as dictionaries, cookery books, foreign-language courses and computer handbooks, all of which are guaranteed quick sales. The problems facing the remaining periodicals and newspapers are huge: paper and production costs are constantly rising and following the demise of RSW and the closure of a vast number of Ruch kiosks, distribution and sales present enormous difficulties. The situation was brought into sharp relief in the columns of *Polityka* in early 1990 when a list of periodicals already liquidated or to be liquidated, including *Życie literackie* and *Miesięcznik literacki* was followed by a listing of new privately published pornographic magazines including *Sexy Top* to be published four times per year, the monthly *Erotica* and the bi-monthly *Amor*.

At first the pleas for some concessions from the government to save the industry fell on deaf ears, but after a meeting between a delegation of writers and Prime Minister Mazowiecki, followed by consultations with Balcerowicz and representatives from the Ministry of Finance, some progress was made. It was agreed that import duty be removed from paper and printing supplies, and books and other printed matter be freed from turnover tax. Limited subsidies for specialist works on cultural policy and theory, for new young writers of poetry and prose and for maintaining contacts with writers abroad were agreed upon. There are proposals for the creation of a Credit Bank for the Book. All of this gives some hope for the continued publication of classic literature, and new belles-lettres. However, many problems remain unresolved, including the eventual fate of the large state publishers who are being forced to streamline their operations and reorganise their business along Western lines with marketing, advertising and sales departments, and also of libraries many of which are finding it difficult to heat and light their buildings, let alone consider book purchasing. Millions of zloty worth of books are lying unsold in bookshops, storerooms and warehouses. A complete reorganisation of wholesale and retail bookselling is required.

It is difficult to forecast how Polish publishing will develop over the next decade. The guaranteed sales of books on previously taboo subjects, be they the Katyn massacre or cheap pornography, are unlikely to be sustained as people become accustomed to these forbidden fruits. Some believe that the government should work on the development of a cultural policy to see Poland through this era of momentous change, yet the spectre of old-style state intervention looms large in the minds of those who hold the fate of Polish culture in their hands. One must hope that a compromise can be found between excessive and stifling regulation as practised under communist rule and a *laissez-faire* policy in which quality publishing fails to survive, for, as Wojciechowski fervently states:

The fate of the book will define the future of our democracy, the level of our elite, the quality of the language in which our public opinions will be expressed.⁵⁰

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⁵⁰ Wojciechowski (note 49).

Fortunes and Misfortunes of Polish Emigré Publishing after 1945

Hanna Świdarska

(i) Background

Two facts lie at the root of Polish emigré literature. The first was the withdrawal of recognition from the Polish wartime government in London by its Western allies on 5 July 1945 which in effect surrendered Poland to Soviet control. The end of the war found hundreds of thousands of Polish citizens in the West and overseas. The army had fought under British command on the African, Italian and western fronts. The civilians fell into three main groups, the smallest of which had escaped from Poland in 1939, and a large proportion of it arrived in Britain in 1940 together with the government and its armed forces. The second, very large, group were victims of Soviet deportations in 1940–41 who in 1942 had found refuge in the Middle East, East Africa, India and New Zealand. In 1944–45 the numbers of civilians were swollen by the liberated victims of the Nazi concentration camps and forced labour deportations, and by released POWs. Now the abandonment of Poland to Communism and the surrender of her eastern territories to the USSR made a very high proportion of all these people refuse to return home. Such was the origin of the Polish postwar political emigration and its literature.

The second fact conducive to the formation of this literature was the formal introduction of preventative censorship in Poland on 5 July 1946 when the Chief Office for Control of the Press, Publications and Entertainment was set up. Its aim was to suppress publication by whatever means of subject matter ‘harmful to the interests of the Polish People’s Republic’. This excluded a vast range of subjects from public attention—first of all Polish–Soviet relations of whatever kind and the history of Poland after 1914 (frequently also earlier), if presented with some degree of truth, as well as everything on the eastern territories lost to the USSR, which now ceased to exist also retrospectively. Thus all these subjects became the monopoly of emigré literature. Its entry into the country was strictly forbidden, its private possession was severely punished and even copies sent to scholarly libraries were very often confiscated. Irrespective of its content, most Polish material with Western imprints was banned.

In 1947 Jan Bielatowicz (literary critic, novelist and bibliographer, settled in London) thus formulated the tasks faced by Polish literature divided by the Iron Curtain: ‘The purpose of emigré literature is to serve not so much

the emigrés as the mother country, just as the latter's literature serves us emigrés. For there is only one indivisible Polish literature.'¹

(ii) Origins

Emigré literature is the direct descendant of 'literature of Fighting Poland' produced in 1939–45 wherever free Poles were to be found. It had three main centres: Britain, where the government and troops were based after the fall of France, together with civilians associated with both; the Middle East, where Polish armed forces and large civilian groups (the majority of both being ex-Soviet deportees) were based; and Italy, where those forces fought as the Second Corps. In wartime Britain the main centres of Polish publishing were in London, Glasgow (*Książnica Polska*, 1940–48) and Edinburgh (*Składnica Księgarska*, 1942–46).

The first Polish firm in London, Minerva, was organized before 1939 by a major Warsaw publisher M. Przeworski to publish in English works by Polish authors and on Polish subjects, and it functioned until 1943. In 1940 the firm of M. I. Kolin was established by Minerva's employees to publish books in Polish and in 1944 was taken over by Orbis. Besides these, various institutions and organizations published their own literature, while material issued or sponsored by the Polish government in London was produced by Hutchinson, Allen & Unwin, Nelson and Oliver & Boyd.

In 1942 the Middle East began to emerge as the second major centre and soon overshadowed London. There literature in Polish was printed in places through which the army and civilians were passing: Teheran, Baghdad, Beirut, Cairo, Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem. The last became the leading centre, producing all kinds of publications besides school textbooks and school editions of mainly Polish classics for the schools which had sprung up throughout the diaspora, and whose mass printing for the Polish Ministry of Education in London was hampered by the strict paper rationing in wartime Britain. Besides civilian ones there were military publishing enterprises subject to the Department of Culture and the Press of the Polish Army in the East, and in 1944 they went to Italy with the Second Corps. Among their publications was the influential army newspaper founded in 1941 in the USSR, *Orzeł biały* ('White Eagle', still published in London), and its very important monograph series (over 100 volumes), *Biblioteka Orła białego* ('White Eagle Library'). In 1946 together with the Second Corps its press and publishing organizations arrived in Britain.

¹ *Kultura* (Paris), 1947, no. 2/3, p. 7.

(iii) London

The early postwar years were very difficult, with the Polish forces in the West demobilized and Polish public funds drying up which caused a slump also in publishing. Potential readers of emigré literature, once expecting to return home and now stateless, were trying to start a new life in their shattered world and settle in Western Europe or overseas. Amidst the chaos London continued as the 'Polish capital abroad'—now the capital of the political emigration in which, besides the de-recognized government-in-exile, new political, social, cultural and scholarly societies and institutions continued or were founded. In 1945 the Union of Polish Writers Abroad was set up, with its members scattered around the globe. London now became the largest centre of emigré publishing. Orbis continued to work and new firms began to appear, many of them short-lived. The major older ones are:

1. Gryf Publications, founded in 1947 to continue some of the Second Corps publishing activities, including *Orzeł biały*. By 1976 it had produced over 100 book titles.²
2. Veritas Foundation Press (Catholic, established in 1948 and still active). Besides Catholic newspapers, by 1976 it had published over 600 books (religious, belles-lettres, history, popular scientific, memoirs).³
3. Oficyna Poetów i Malarzy (Poets and Painters Press), established in 1950 to publish the type of material indicated by its name, also its own quarterly *Oficyna Poetów* (1966–80).
4. Bolesław Świdorski (1955–late 1960s): fine editions of emigré authors, literature, history. It also published for the Union of Polish Writers Abroad.
5. Polish Cultural Foundation, which in 1959 grew out of the newspaper *Dziennik polski* (started in 1940 and still published), became very active in 1963 and by 1975 had published some 200 titles: fiction, memoirs, history, literature, etc.⁴
6. Odnova (established in 1963): recent history, philosophy, memoirs, etc.
7. Polonia Book Fund (established in 1959): recent history, politics, current affairs.
8. Kontra (established around 1970): books in Polish and Russian dissident literature in the original.

Very important documentary monographs and collections of historical documents relating to Polish history from 1939 onwards were and still are

² *Pamiętnik literacki* (London), 1976, pp. 183–84.

³ *Pamiętnik literacki*, pp. 184–85.

⁴ *Pamiętnik literacki*, p. 168.

published by learned institutions, especially the Sikorski Institute and Museum and the Polish Underground Movement (1939–1945) Study Trust.

In 1946 the Writers' Union started publishing under its own name. Its most important collective achievement is the basic reference work *Literatura polska na obczyźnie 1940–1960* ('Polish Literature Abroad', London, 1964–65). In 1976 the Union launched *Pamiętnik literacki* (vol. 14 appeared in 1989), very valuable also as a collection of information illustrating the functioning of emigré literature. It includes biographies and lists of works by its members, material on Polish libraries, museums, learned institutions, publishers, etc., abroad, lists of emigré books translated into foreign languages and of Polish books published abroad and received by the Polish Library in London.

In the mid-1970s emigré literature began to lose its vitality as the older literary generation started to die out and demand for books among the Poles in the West declined. Average print-runs of 2,000 copies shrunk to 1,000 and some of the publishers were forced to charge authors for printing their works.

(iv) Paris

In the early postwar years Paris became the second main centre of Polish publishing and the home of the oldest and most prestigious emigré publishing house, Instytut Literacki (Literary Institute), publishers of the highbrow monthly *Kultura* (1947–) and *Zeszyty historyczne* (1962–), devoted to recent and current history, and of a series of books *Biblioteka 'Kultury'*. The role of the Institute in Polish postwar history, through its influence among intellectuals both in Poland and abroad, can hardly be overestimated, and is confirmed by the special virulence with which its publications were hunted down in Poland and its editor and contributors reviled.

The Institute, founded in 1946 in Rome, originated from the Second Corps, and in 1947 it moved to Paris. In the first issue of *Kultura* (1947) the editors described their interests as going far beyond the narrow emigré world:

Many years will pass before the peoples of both hemispheres finally understand that Soviet 'novelty' is seeking to anaesthetize European culture just as the earlier German catastrophism aimed to disintegrate it. New times are coming, weak-willed and poisoned by the thought of death. Why fight, what is there to defend while *ex oriente lux* has been generally accepted?

In this environment the role, aim and duties of *Kultura* are obvious *Kultura* wants to impress on its Polish readers who have chosen political emigration ... that the cultural area in which they now live is not a dead world.

Kultura wants to reach Polish readers at home and strengthen their belief that the ideals which they value have not yet been destroyed by naked force.

Kultura wants to discover in the world of Western civilization the will to live without which Europeans will die out

By 1990 the Institute had published some 455 volumes of *Biblioteka 'Kultury'*, among them works of most top emigré authors, including Czesław Miłosz (winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1980).

The oldest Polish bookshop and occasional publisher abroad is the Księgarnia Polska in Paris (established in 1833). After 1945 it published over fifty book titles before abandoning this side of its activity. Another Paris bookshop-cum-publisher is Libella, founded in 1946. It started to publish in 1956 and currently produces a series of monographs whose interest is summed up by its title *Historia i terażniejszość* ('History and the Present Time', 1979-). In the later 1960s Éditions du Dialogue (still active) was founded to publish highbrow Catholic literature in Polish and French. The Pallotine Fathers bring out the same type of material.

(v) Other Countries

In the earliest postwar years Polish material was also published in other Western European countries. In Brussels there were three short-lived firms: Klon, La Colonne and Polski Instytut Wydawniczy. In Rome, besides the Second Corps publishing enterprises, in 1946-47 K. Breiter brought out some dozens of titles, mainly fiction, and there were two smaller firms: Lektura and La Rondine. The Polish Historical Institute in Rome (Lanckoroński Foundation), specializing in the earlier periods of Polish history, published the irregular journal *Antemurale* (now ceased publication). Its most impressive publication is the series *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones* (1960-): collections of documents from Western archives relating to the history of Poland, soon to be completed. A new, very important series of documents, *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, has just started (vol. 1 in 1990).

Publishing on a considerable scale, still largely unexplored, started in West Germany in 1945 but was very short-lived. Bookshops and publishing firms sprang up in many towns and produced miscellaneous material, a large proportion of it being school textbooks and editions of the classics for schools. Hannover was the main centre where the Polish Refugee Union (Związek Wychodźstwa Przymusowego) published in 1945-47 some 200 book titles. Among other publishers there were the Słowo Polskie (Dachau, etc.), Książnica Domu Polskiego (Bremen) and Dom Książki Polskiej (Stuttgart), while numerous organizations produced their own material. This activity rapidly declined before 1950, with the majority of its customers returning to Poland or migrating westwards.

In the USA Polish material started being printed in the nineteenth century. During the last war Rój of Warsaw settled in New York (Roy

Publishers) and produced numerous books by emigré writers. After 1958 it abandoned printing in Polish. In 1970 Polonia of Chicago began publishing books in Polish, but in general the extent of Polish book production in the USA, which has the largest Polish community outside Poland, is disappointing. Demand for literature in Polish is so small that in 1985 there were only four struggling Polish bookshops in the whole country! ⁵ Emigré authors who settled in the USA from the early postwar period onwards were forced to publish in Paris or London.

Canada with its large numbers of Polish immigrants also showed little activity. Over the years some books in Polish were produced by publishers of local Polish newspapers (*Związkowiec*, *Głos polski*). In 1978 the Polish Publishing Fund (Polski Fundusz Wydawniczy) was set up in Toronto by a group of Polish authors who felt 'alarmed that the emigré publishing firms, with a few exceptions, are becoming in fact printing establishments paid for publishing books. The threat is that publication of many titles will be determined by their authors' money and not their objective value.' ⁶ The threat has become reality but by now new developments are already under way.

(vi) The Periodical Press

The emigré periodical press is a vast and still little-explored subject. Its extent can be glimpsed from the fact that its bibliographer Jan Kowalik lists 4,617 titles published in 60 countries in 1939–84,⁷ though a proportion are, strictly speaking, not emigré. Any attempt to survey it, even the most superficial, would make this essay unacceptably long. A great role in emigré literature was and still is played by periodicals of literary, political, social and general cultural interest, and minor works by many important authors scattered in them are still awaiting publication in separate collections.

Besides *Kultura*, the other top periodical with subscribers and contributors scattered around the globe was the London weekly *Wiadomości*, founded in 1924 in Warsaw as *Wiadomości literackie*. In 1940, after a brief Paris interlude, it settled in London (where for many years it was edited in all but name from the Reading Room of the British Museum, where its original editor was practically a permanent resident). Implacably anti-Soviet, in 1944 it was suppressed by the British under the pretext of 'paper control', but resumed publication in 1946 until its precarious financial situation made it close down in 1981.

⁵ *Oświata, Książka i Prasa na Obczyźnie*, Prace Kongresu Kultury Polskiej, Tom IX (London, 1989), p. 90.

⁶ *Oświata* (note 5), p. 129.

⁷ *World Index of Polish Periodicals Published Outside of Poland Since September 1939*, vol. 5, pt. 1, p. v.

Vital information of all kinds is buried in the emigré press but is very difficult to use not only because sets of various titles, often incomplete, are scattered far and wide but also, with the exception of the titles published by the Literary Institute covered by separate bibliographies, and the annual indexes in *Wiadomości*, all these periodicals have no general lists of contents.

(vii) Private Presses

The definition of what constitutes emigré literature and publishing is not as unequivocal as one would wish it to be. It clearly includes material which, until recently, could not be published openly in Poland because of its subject, authorship or origin, and where its authors and publishers were consigned to oblivion. With its political connotation, 'emigré' cannot be applied to material published outside Poland before or even in some cases after 1939, e.g. by Polish immigrants in France and the USA. Also material produced by and for Polish-speaking Jews in Israel does not belong in this category. The private presses are a borderline case.

Samuel Tyszkiewicz started his private press in Florence in 1928, and before his death in 1954 issued very fine printed books in Polish, English and Italian. In 1940–49 he worked in Nice where he printed very fine volumes of poetry by emigré authors. The Warsaw Press Abroad (*Oficyna Warszawska na Obczyźnie*), successor to *Oficyna Warszawska* of Warsaw, was revived in 1945 in Munich by one of its original founders, Anatol Girs, and printed several bibliophile books before moving to Detroit where Girs continued to work for some time, producing material mainly in English. In the 1950s and early 60s the private press of M. and F. Prochaska worked in Paris and later in Aix-en-Provence. Besides French books, it produced several volumes in Polish.

In postwar Britain there were two private Polish presses. The Poets' and Painters' Press in London (see above) of C. and K. Bednarczyk originally specialized in hand printing. The press of Stanisław Gliwa is sometimes regarded as the finest contemporary press in England.⁸ Gliwa, once the chief graphic designer in the publishing enterprises of the Second Corps, produced in 1953 the first book under his own imprint, and in 1962 he opened his own press at Southend-on-Sea. Between 1953 and 1980 he published some forty volumes, twenty-one of these in Polish. He died in 1986.

⁸ See A. and P. Ward, *The Small Publisher* (Cambridge, 1979).

(viii)

*The sad downfall of those people who sell their talents in service
against their own nation*

(Filler, p. 7)

The Communist authorities did their best to keep emigré literature from the reader at home, which had the side-effect they least desired, since it made the forbidden fruit an object of intense curiosity and promoted a myth of its uniform excellence. In 1970 a pamphlet by W. Filler, *Literatura Małej Emigracji* ('Literature of the Little Emigration'—to contrast it with that of the Great Emigration after 1831) was published in Warsaw in a cheap propaganda series *Ideology—Politics—Defence* which normally gathered dust in bookshops, hoping in vain for a reader. Just then I went to Poland and, hoping for some unintentional humour, tried to buy a copy, but it was sold out everywhere. Finally in some distant suburb a girl behind the counter said, 'You are lucky, this is our last copy.' 'Is it so popular, then?', I asked. 'But of course. People want to find out at least the names of authors and titles they cannot read.'

This pamphlet was a typical attempt to fill the reader with disgust towards a product he could not sample for himself. Over the years individual authors, books and publishers as well as emigré literature as such were subject to official abuse while, on a higher level, they were ignored as far as possible. The *Przewodnik bibliograficzny* (national bibliography) ignored emigré material, and only in 1960 the National Library in Warsaw started the annual *Polonica zagraniczne* (books in Polish or relating to Poland published abroad); in 1969 it was reclassified as 'for internal use only' and became unavailable even to top Western libraries (presumably already corrupted). Since 1989 it has again become available. In encyclopedias and scholarly reference literature, including *Słownik współczesnych pisarzy polskich* ('Dictionary of Contemporary Polish Writers', 2 series, 1963–80), published by the Literary Research Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences, some important emigré authors did not appear at all while some others were described as 'hostile to the Polish People's Republic'. Only occasionally would a major emigré author be reprieved and a selection of his works concocted *ad usum delphini*, but published only after his death.

In spite of all such attempts, the first dents in the literary Iron Curtain started appearing in the late 1950s when some authors in Poland, harassed by the censor, dared take steps to have their works published, as originally written, by emigré publishers, first of all by the Literary Institute. At first they appeared anonymously or under pseudonyms, but later under real names, and the authors suffered consequences: all kinds of chicanery, being banned from publishing in Poland, and dismissal if in regular employment.

Some bodily joined their colleagues in the West, starting with the exodus of intellectuals in 1968.

Finally, the birth of clandestine publishing in the late 1970s opened a period when emigré books reprinted by the underground presses became available to the Polish general reader. The rise of Solidarity in 1980 and its attempt in the Gdańsk Agreement to curb censorship (in fact relaxed in 1980–81) also gave wide publicity to the status of emigré literature, and 'Polish literature is one' became a popular slogan. This relaxation was made even more obvious when just then the emigré writer Czesław Miłosz won the Nobel Prize and the unimaginable happened when the Thought Police had no choice but to reprieve (albeit selectively) an author both hostile to the People's Republic and very much alive.

Scholarly interest in the 'least-known' or 'uncomfortably present' literature could not be suppressed for ever. In 1976 for the first time in postwar Poland a lecture on it was given at the Jagellonian University in Cracow and literary periodicals began to show tentative interest in the subject. In 1980–81 it came at last to be presented, selectively but on the whole without ritual abuse, to the general public, first of all in the article 'The Least-Known Literature', by M. Sprusiński in the weekly *Polityka* (no. 13, 1981), which recommended publication in Poland of the less politically minded emigré authors or works.

The suppression of Solidarity in December 1981 could not stop the growing penetration of emigré literature into Poland. The underground presses worked briskly, smuggling from the West increased, while above ground further attempts were made to explore the areas of the *terra incognita* less offensive to the censor. This approach, though offering much genuine information, had its obvious limitations since it presented an incomplete and unbalanced picture. Two works published in Warsaw in 1983 illustrate this attitude. *Historia literatury polskiej w zarysie* ('Outline History of Polish Literature'), compiled by the Institute of Polish Philology of the Jagellonian University, includes a chapter on the post-1939 period by M. Stępień, who for the first time takes the daring step of presenting literature of the period as a single whole wherever produced, but which ignores many prominent emigré authors. The other one, by Z. Lichniak, meaningfully entitled 'Before a Panorama is Created' (*Zanim powstanie panorama*), aims to 'build bridges' between the two literatures and 'remove white spots where it is both possible and right'.⁹

(ix) Transformation

In the 1970s the character of emigré literature began to change. The

⁹ Z. Lichniak, *Zanim powstanie panorama* (Warsaw, 1983), pp. 7, 81.

original generation of authors started to die out and those who could afford to pay for publication of their writings, often of doubtful value, became more noticeable. At the same time the successive 'Polish crises' produced more political immigrants to the West. They gave a new lease of life to emigré literature not only by joining its existing establishments but also by starting their own periodicals and publishing firms, both in the established centres of emigré book production and also in Sweden, West Berlin, the USA and Australia. Thus in 1973 the quarterly *Aneks* started publication in Uppsala and moved to London where it later reprinted the clandestine quarterly *Krytyka*; it also became a major book publisher. *Aneks* ceased publication in 1990, when its editor decided that, in view of recent developments in Poland, it had lost its original purpose. Éditions Spotkania was founded in Paris in 1978 and by 1990 had produced some seventy books, the quarterly *Spotkania* and the irregular *Libertas*. Puls in London originally published the irregular literary journal *Puls* and since 1981 has also published books. Many of the periodicals of the 'new emigration' were short-lived while others withstood the test of time. Such are, besides those already mentioned, *Kontakt* (1982–) and *Zeszyty literackie* (1983–) in Paris. Several started clandestinely in Poland before migrating to or being reprinted in the West; such are *Puls* (1978), *Spotkania* (1977), *Krytyka* (1978) and *Zapis* (1977), the last reissued in London by Index on Censorship. But the doyenne of the Polish press published in the West is still the Paris *Kultura*.

(x) Now—And in the Future?

With the developments in Poland in 1989–90 and the formal demise of censorship on 1 April 1990, the two branches of literature have finally come together in practice as well as in theory. The subjects in which emigré literature specialized for decades are at last discussed in the Polish media and, if Poland's 'return to Europe' and full independence proceed unhindered, emigré literature will finally lose its political *raison d'être*.

At present the emigré publishers produce material first of all for distribution in Poland. Besides recent history and current problems, works by the emigré 'greats' are reissued. A proportion of current publications, as already said, is made up of material printed at the authors' expense. Various organizations produce their own material, such as histories of the units of the Polish Forces in the West (financed by their ex-combatants) or of the schools which worked all over the Polish diaspora during the War and beyond (by their ex-pupils). Religious and related literature is published by firms with Church connections. Some emigré publishers and booksellers plan to extend their activities to Poland and set up their branches there, and Éditions Spotkania have already set up a branch in Warsaw (May 1990).

The publication of the emigré 'classics' in their full original form (the

economic crisis permitting) by established state publishers in Poland has started. They also receive less welcome attention, with total disregard for copyright, from some new private firms out to make a quick profit. Their success is guaranteed by the myth of emigré literature created through its suppression in Poland. Some of these firms have even tried to enlist the British Library's help in identifying likely material, as shown by a recent request from a firm asking us to supply a list of emigré titles 'still little known in Poland' which would 'assure for us a good start and success on the book market'.

The role of emigré literature can at last be openly discussed in Poland: 'we are now witnessing the extinction of the generation of authors representing the great postwar emigration. For it was indeed a Great Emigration, both in numbers and in the inheritance it is leaving behind. Its achievement is that, by keeping alive for years the cause of our independence, it has preserved in the nation the awareness of its history and culture'¹⁰

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7. *Literatura polska na obczyźnie 1940-1960*, Praca zbiorowa, Wydana staraniem Związku Pisarzy Polskich na Obczyźnie, pod redakcją Tymona Terleckiego, 2 vols (London, 1964-65).
8. *Pamiętnik literacki* (London, Związek Pisarzy Polskich na Obczyźnie, 1976-).

¹⁰ *Tygodnik Solidarność*, 1990, no. 20.

E. L. Kasprovicz and the Publication of Banned Russian Books in Germany *

David Griffiths and Nadia Zilper

The Russian-language books produced by Erazm Kasprovicz (1835–1922) are far from impressive in appearance. The little volumes are slender for the most part, measure no more than 16½ by 11 centimeters in size, and are frequently bound in anonymous black covers. Hence they may easily be overlooked by the curious scholar casually scanning the library shelf. Yet the humble appearance of these books belies their significance: for a common denominator was that they could not be legally published or read in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth and first half decade of the twentieth century.¹ Because of the prohibition, they were published in Leipzig, Germany. Their publisher, an emigré Pole, produced perhaps as large a number of banned books as any publisher catering for the imperial Russian book market.² Although he also published in English, German and of course Polish, this study focuses on Kasprovicz's Russian-language books.

To judge by their ubiquitousness in Soviet repositories as well as the frequency with which imperial Russian scholars cited them, Kasprovicz's books were read by the emigré community and by Russian travellers, and smuggled back into Russia despite the prohibition.³ Yet notwithstanding his

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¹ It is possible, though unlikely, that Kasprovicz may also have published Russian-language books that were not banned by the tsarist authorities. But if so, we have not managed to track them down, for in addition to his own book lists the censorship records provide the chief source for the study of his book publishing. The latter of course identify only those books that were censored.

² A. I. Herzen and Kasprovicz produced roughly the same number of titles—70. M. K. Elpidin, working in Geneva, may well have published more titles than Kasprovicz; many of them however were slim pamphlets produced for the Populist cause he espoused. Unfortunately, data on the size of the press runs are totally lacking. And to infer press runs, not to speak of readership, from the number of editions published is an extremely risky business. For a convenient list of Kasprovicz's nineteenth-century (only) publications in the Russian language that were prohibited entry into Russia by the authorities, as well as those of other Russian-language publishing houses in Europe that met the same fate, see *Svodnyi katalog russkoi nelegal'noi i zapreshchennoi pechati XIX veka: knigi i periodicheskie izdaniia*, 2nd edition, 3 vols (Moscow, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, 1981–2) (index to Kasprovicz's works in vol. III, p. 153).

³ Some are still cited by Soviet scholars today: see for example I. V. Karatsuba, 'Nekotorye istochnikovedcheskie aspekty izucheniia zapisok angliiskikh puteshestvennikov po Rossii', *Istoriia SSSR*, 1985, no. 4, p. 168, who cites Princess Dashkova's memoirs.

activities, Kasprowicz has garnered little or no attention from Soviet scholars, perhaps because, unlike Alexander Herzen for example, or M. K. Elpidin, he was never associated with the Russian revolutionary movement. Nor did he concern himself solely with Russian books. He was not even Russian, for that matter. Moreover, he spent almost his entire adult life in Saxony/Germany. Our brief paper examines the nature and extent of Kasprowicz's Russian-language book publishing activities, including the sources of the materials he published and his curious relationships with Herzen and with the imperial Russian government.



Born in Zagorż, in Russian-controlled Galicia, in 1835, Erazm Łucyan Kasprowicz was orphaned as a ten-year-old child. Brought up by his mother's relatives in Cracow, he graduated from the Technical Institute there, and promptly began his long-term association with bookstores.⁴ In 1854 he moved to Leipzig, both Europe's book publishing capital and 'one of the centers of the Polish revolutionary movement',⁵ to quote from a recent history of publishing in that town. There he took employment in a book firm belonging to another Polish emigré, Jan Nepomucen Bobrowicz.⁶ A book dealer as well as a publisher, Bobrowicz ran afoul of the Saxon authorities, who found it necessary to respond to complaints from their Russian counterparts concerning his distribution of materials published by Alexander Herzen in London.⁷ When the store eventually closed in 1859, Kasprowicz

⁴ *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Cracow and Wrocław, Skład Główny w Księgarni Gebethner i Wolff, 1935–), vol. XII, p. 184; *Słownik Pracowników Książki Polskiej* (Warsaw, PAN, 1972), pp. 400–1. There are Kasprowicz papers still in private hands in Poland today (*Słownik*, p. 185). There seem however to be no company papers extant. Nor have any records of his forty-six-year employment with the Brockhaus firm survived. Gert Klitzke ('Zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung des Verlegers Heinrich Brockhaus, insbesondere im Vormärz und in der Revolution von 1848/49', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens* (Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1965–), vol. VI, p. 9) reports eyewitness accounts to the effect that a mass of Brockhaus archival material was hastily loaded onto an American army truck at the end of World War II and shipped from the Soviet occupation zone to the American one. But according to a letter of 6 July 1990 from the firm's information director in Mannheim, Herr Volker Kaepfel, its records were totally destroyed in a bombing raid during the War. The absence of papers forces the present authors to resort more frequently than they might wish to such qualifiers as 'probably', 'apparently', 'perhaps', etc.

⁵ *500 Jahre Buchstadt Leipzig* (Leipzig, VEB Fachbuchverlag, 1981), p. 62.

⁶ On Bobrowicz, see *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (note 4), vol. II, pp. 157–8.

⁷ *Russko-pol'skie revoliutsionnye sviazi | Współpraca rewolucyjna polsko-rosyjska*, ch. 1 (Moscow, AN SSSR, 1963), p. 30 (M. D. Gorchakov, Viceroy of Tsarist Poland to V. A. Dolgorukov, Head of the Third Section, 15 (27) January 1857, notifying him that, according to secret information he had received, 'revolutionary literature' in German, Polish and Russian stemming from London—presumably from Herzen—was being shipped to Bobrowicz hidden in the bottoms of cartons containing Nuremberg toys; from there it was smuggled into Russia). M. K. Lemke, editor of the first Soviet edition of Herzen's works, has mined the archives of the Third Section to uncover numerous intelligence reports on Slavic-language book publishing and

found employment with the respected book publisher F. A. Brockhaus and Company, which was fast becoming the largest concern in Leipzig.⁸ He left for Galicia for two years during the Polish uprising, to return again, eventually to become Director of the firm's Slavic Department (Slawische Abtheilung). He was to remain with Brockhaus for another forty-four years.

Brockhaus's involvement in Slavic matters, however, antedated by several decades Kasprowicz's arrival on the scene. The founder's two sons, who had taken over the management of the firm in 1823 from their father Friedrich Arnold, had a long-standing interest in Slavic affairs. The eldest, Friedrich (b. 1800), was a moving force behind the formation of the Polenverein (Union for Aid to Needy Poles) in Leipzig in the early 1830s. His brother Heinrich Eduard (b. 1804) was an engaged political liberal, one who actively supported the Polish uprising of 1831.⁹ Not only did the two shelter Polish emigrés, they published Adam Mickiewicz and others in German translation. But their Slavic involvement was hardly confined to things Polish: among the authors gracing the Brockhaus publishing list was Alexander Herzen, whose translation of *Kto vinovat?* (Who is to Blame?) the firm brought out in 1851.¹⁰ It was to maintain its interest in Herzen well into

selling abroad: see A. I. Gertsen, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i pisem*, 22 vols (Petrograd, Leningrad and Moscow, Literaturno-Izdatel'skii Otdel Narodnago Komissariata po Prosveshcheniiu, 1919–25), vol. VIII, p. 534 (May 1857) and p. 538 (21 December 1857): the Russian government learns that Bobrowicz, among others, is dealing in illegal Russian-language books (also published in *Russko-pol'skie revoliutsionnye sviazi*, p. 31); Gertsen, vol. IX, p. 134: Saxon Minister of the Interior von Beust forbids Bobrowicz from opening up another bookstore in Dresden; Gertsen, vol. XXII, p. 291 (31 March 1858): the Saxon government seems to have closed down his book-selling operation.

⁸ See *500 Jahre Buchstadt Leipzig* (note 5), p. 48. On the history of the Brockhaus firm, see Heinrich Eduard Brockhaus, *Die Firma F. A. Brockhaus, von der Begründung bis zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum, 1805–1905* (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1955), and the entry 'Brockhaus' in the seventeenth edition of *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 20 vols plus 5 Ergänzungen (Wiesbaden, F. A. Brockhaus, 1966–81), vol. III, p. 303.

⁹ See Klitzke, 'Zur gesellschaftlichen Stellung des Verlegers Heinrich Brockhaus', *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens*, vol. VI, pp. 16–17, and *500 Jahre Buchstadt Leipzig* (note 5), p. 62.

¹⁰ See Herzen's letter to Emma Herwegh, 24 October 1849, in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, LXIV (1958), p. 48 (the German translation is not listed in N. F. Bel'chikov, *Zarubezhnye izdaniia A. I. Gertsena. Bibliograficheskoe opisanie, 1850–1869* (Moscow, Nauka, 1973)). See also Herzen's letter to Georg Herwegh of 30 April 1850, in which he mentions a review of his *From the Other Shore* in Brockhaus's *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* that was cleverly written to confuse the conservative censor, in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, pp. 175–6.

the future.¹¹ By the mid-to-late 1850s it was also selling the Russian-language works of Herzen and other emigrés that were banned by the tsarist authorities.¹²

Since Brockhaus was not yet publishing in Cyrillic, the question naturally arises as to where the Foreign Section acquired the Russian-language materials that were to prove so disturbing to tsarist authorities. In late 1855 the firm created an 'F. A. Brockhaus New and Used Books Department' (Sortiment und Antiquarium) to distribute and sell on commission books from publishers all over Europe. The Russian-language works, however, stemmed from one specific source: Herzen's publisher Trübner and Company in London, whose interests happened to coincide neatly with Brockhaus's. Because of the constricted nature of the market for Russian-language books in England, the German-born Nikolaus Trübner had derived little profit from his connection with the Free Russian Press (Vol'naia russkaia tipografiia). In order to turn a decent profit, he needed to break into the continental market. One step in this direction was his merger in 1856 with D. Nutt and Company, a used book dealer and member of the Börsenverein der Deutschen Buchhändler, the German book dealers' organization with its headquarters in Leipzig. In the process Trübner acquired the right to export books to Germany without having them subjected to examination at the border.¹³ On 1 January of the same year he contracted with Brockhaus to serve as his distributor in Central Europe. It was to be but the beginning of a

¹¹ In 1867 Brockhaus proposed to publish French translations of Herzen's *Kolokol* and volume IV of his *Byloe i dumy*: see Gertsen (note 7), vol. XX, pp. 21, 25, and S. D. Gurvich-Lishiner et al. (eds.), *Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva A. I. Gertsena*, 4 vols to date (Moscow, Nauka, 1974-), vol. IV, p. 476. Volume VII of the 11th edition of Brockhaus's *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Enzyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände* (1866) contained an extensive and very positive entry on Herzen, one of the first to appear, labelling him 'the outstanding Russian publicist and writer' who preached an end to serfdom, an end to corporal punishment, the introduction of open courts, and who in general 'unmasked ... mercilessly the shortcomings of the Russian governmental system': cited in Gurvich-Lishiner, *Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva Gertsena*, vol. IV, pp. 335-6.

¹² On the Herzen-Brockhaus connection see N. Ia. Eidel'man, *Tainye korrespondenty 'Poliarnoi zvezdy'* (Moscow, Mysl', 1966), p. 5.

¹³ In 1857 Trübner himself joined the Verein: V. A. Chernykh, 'Iz istorii vol'noi russkoi pechati (A. I. Gertsen i N. Triubner. Pervyi period sotrudnichestva)', in *Revoliutsionnaia situatsiia v Rossii v 1859-1861 gg.*, vol. VII: *Epokha Chernyshevskogo* (Moscow, Nauka, 1978), p. 73. On Trübner see his entry in Rudolf Schmidt, *Deutsche Buchhändler, Deutsche Buchdrucker. Beiträge zur einer Firmengeschichte des deutschen Buchgewerbes*, 6 vols (Berlin and Eberswäld, 1902-8) (reprint by Georg Olms Verlag in one volume, Hildesheim and New York, 1979), pp. 955-7.

long-lasting and many-sided relationship between the two firms.¹⁴ Soon, according to tsarist agents, Brockhaus was receiving from Trübner in London weekly packages of books, primarily those by Herzen. Included in the shipments were numerous copies of the first volume of Herzen's *Golosa iz Rossii* (Voices from Russia), which tsarist agents assumed were destined for trans-shipment to Warsaw.¹⁵

As a consequence of Trübner's penetration of the German borders, the period from late 1855 until 1858 saw a vast expansion of his continental market. But his new-found prosperity was not destined to last for long. Predictably, the participation of Brockhaus and other German dealers in Slavic book distribution attracted the notice of the tsarist authorities, whose agents discovered that in fact three book firms in Leipzig—Bobrowicz, Wolfgang Gerhard and Brockhaus—were trading in Russian-language books inimicable to the autocracy.¹⁶ Bobrowicz eventually shut down, probably at the instigation of the Russian authorities; Gerhard's allegiance was at least once bought by those same authorities;¹⁷ but Brockhaus was much better established, and therefore harder to manipulate or intimidate. The Russian government therefore approached the Saxon authorities for assistance. It ordered the Russian chargé d'affaires to request the authorities to crack down on the entry into, and sale in, Saxony of the books of Herzen and others hostile to the regime.¹⁸ Similar measures were taken with regard to Prussia.

Its wish was granted in January 1858 with a ban on the importation of anti-tsarist literature into Saxony, thus largely negating—in the realm of

¹⁴ The relationship was to be sealed in the fall of 1860 when Heinrich Brockhaus dispatched his younger son Heinrich Rudolph abroad to London to work for a year as an intern with Nikolaus Trübner's firm. In 1863 the son became a partner in the Brockhaus firm. The close relationship between the two firms continued: in October 1879 Heinrich Eduard Brockhaus's eldest son Albert Eduard was sent to Trübner to intern, this time for almost a year; and in early 1887 Heinrich Rudolf's eldest son Rudolf was also sent to London, this time to intern with F. Duffing, who had replaced the deceased (1884) Nikolaus Trübner at the renamed Edwards and Duffing Book Publishers: see Brockhaus, *Die Firma F. A. Brockhaus* (note 8), pp. 173, 293, 296.

¹⁵ See M. D. Gorchakov to V. A. Dolgorukov, head of the Third Section, 28 September/10 October 1856, cited in *Golosa iz Rossii: sborniki A. I. Gertsena i N. P. Ogareva. Kniga X. Kommentarii i ukazateli*, 4 parts (Moscow, Nauka, 1974–5), part IV, p. 39, and also in *Russko-pol'skie revoliutsionnye sviazi* (note 7), p. 30; the same to the same, 21 December 1857, p. 31; and I. Tolstoi to Dolgorukov, 20 January 1858, based on a report of the Russian chargé d'affaires in London of 24 December 1857, in Gertsen (note 7), vol. IX, pp. 132–3. The Brockhaus firm in July 1856 in fact advertised that it was receiving weekly packages from London: see Chernykh, 'Iz istorii vol'noi russkoi pechati', in *Revoliutsionnaia situatsiia v Rossii* (note 12), vol. VII, p. 73. It should be noted that in addition to its agents in England, the Russian government had a spy, G. Mikhalski, employed with Trübner: see Chernykh, pp. 75–6.

¹⁶ Gertsen (note 7), vol. VIII, pp. 534, 538.

¹⁷ See Gertsen (note 7), vol. XV, p. 453, and I. I. Frolova et al. (eds.), *Kniga v Rossii, 1861–1881*, vol. I (Moscow, Kniga, 1988), p. 54.

¹⁸ See Chernykh (note 15), vol. VII, p. 76, and Gertsen (note 7), vol. IX, p. 134; and see also p. 135.

Slavic-language book publishing and distribution—the value of Trübner's formal links with Brockhaus. As a result, the introduction into Leipzig of books deemed inimical to the Russian government became a far more delicate matter. On the other hand, the newly imposed restrictions lent impetus to the publication of Russian-language works in Germany itself. It was between 1858 and 1863 that such entrepreneurs and enterprises as F. A. Brockhaus, Wolfgang Gerhard and A. Franck in Leipzig and Ferdinand Schneider in Berlin undertook the publication of Russian-language books.¹⁹ Thus it was that the Russian government's victory over the Russian-language book trade in Germany proved ephemeral.

In his capacity as director of the Slavic Department of Brockhaus's New and Used Books Department, Kasprowicz greatly increased the production and sale of Slavic books, to the point where the firm became a major supplier of such books for public and private libraries alike. From 1861 until 1865 he edited the monthly *Bibliografia Polska. Wykaz wszelakich tworów literatury polskiej, wychodzących w kraju i za granicą* (Polish Bibliography of all Polish Literary Works Published at Home and Abroad). He also produced eighty-one volumes of the series *Biblioteka pisarzy polskich* (Library of Polish Authors) running from 1860 until 1886. As a companion series in the Russian area, he brought out in 1861–62 the *Biblioteka russkikh avtorov* (Library of Russian Authors). Only two volumes of this series appeared: the first—a complete collection of the works of the Decembrist K. F. Ryleev, including also poems dedicated to him by Ogarev and Mickiewicz as well as eyewitness accounts of the execution, and the second—a collection of Decembrist poems.²⁰ The material had first appeared in London under Herzen's auspices. Brockhaus also published three works by the Decembrist Nikolai Turgenev, and one by his brother Aleksandr. The appearance of these works and others promptly aroused the antipathy of the Russian authorities, who denied them entry into Russia. As a result the firm seemingly decided to rid itself of the most controversial aspects of its Russian- and Polish-language book-publishing activities.

But Brockhaus's retreat from Slavic-language book publishing was far from complete; it continued to publish relatively non-controversial Slavic-language materials, although even they occasionally were denied entry into

¹⁹ A quantitative examination of volumes I and II of *Svodnyi katalog russkoi nelegal'noi i zapreshchennoi pechati* (note 2) for the year-by-year publication in Western Europe of Russian-language works that were banned in Russia reveals a sharp increase in activity in the period from 1858 to 1863, followed by a substantial decline over the following ten-year period, giving way to another sharp increase for the remainder of the century. As is evident, Kasprowicz was responsible for much of this last increase.

²⁰ Brockhaus, *Die Firma F. A. Brockhaus* (note 8), pp. 230–1; Eidel'man (note 12), pp. 195–200.

Russia by the censor.²¹ More pertinent to this paper, in 1864 or 1865 Kasprowicz opened his own bookstore and publishing house in Leipzig, and began to publish on his own account numerous books in Polish and Russian that Brockhaus was apparently unwilling to touch. It was the start of an enterprise that extended over the next four decades. In 1906 he was to sell much of the remainder of his Russian stock to I. P. Ladyzhnikov, a publisher for the Bolsheviks with his headquarters in Berlin.²² Ladyzhnikov provided the books with his own covers and marketed them once more.

In all, Kasprowicz published a total of at least seventy Russian titles, with the number of editions reaching at least 180.²³ The core of his publishing activity encompassed thirty-six volumes in a series entitled *Mezhdunarodnaia biblioteka* (The International Library), which appeared from 1874 until 1906. Included in the series were such works as Catherine II's *Memoirs*, M. M. Shcherbatov's essay *On the Corruption of Morals in Russia*, A. N. Radishchev's *Journey from St Petersburg to Moscow*, materials for biographies of the Princess Dashkova, Paul I, the Decembrist Ryleev, and A. S. Pushkin, the memoirs of the Decembrists S. P. Trubetskoi and I. D. Iakushkin, other narrations of the uprising, accounts of the disturbances in the military settlements in 1831, materials on the *Petrashevtsy*, essays critical of the regime by Ivan Aksakov and Boris Chicherin, and similar works, all forbidden entry into Russia by the censors on political grounds. The first twenty-seven volumes of the series all went through from two to at least seven editions (Catherine II's *Memoirs*, for example, was published in at least seven editions, although we cannot determine just how large individual editions were). In 1887 Kasprowicz republished the first twenty-eight

²¹ In 1890 the branch firm of Brockhaus-Efron in St Petersburg began publishing the massive *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* in 41 volumes (St Petersburg, Brokgauz-Efron, 1890–1906) under the editorship of I. E. Andreevskii. Presumably the venture would not have been tolerated by the Russian authorities had the mother firm continued to publish in abundance works deemed unacceptable by them. For an index to those few items, thirteen in number (and ten prior to 1870), published by Brockhaus that were censored by the Russian authorities, see *Svodnyi katalog russkoi nelegal'noi i zapreshchennoi pechati* (note 2), vol. III, p. 153.

²² It would seem that Ladyzhnikov purchased Kasprowicz's stock in order to provide a facade of legitimacy for Bolshevik Party publishing activity abroad: see Maksim Gor'kii, *Pis'ma k pisateliam i I. P. Ladyzhnikovu* (Moscow, Gos. izd. Khudozhestvennoi literatury, 1959), pp. 292–3 and *passim* (published as vol. VII of *Arkhiv A. M. Gor'kogo*). For more on Lenin, V. D. Bonch-Bruevich, Maksim Gor'kii, Ladyzhnikov, and their attempts to set up a Party press abroad, consult O. D. Golubeva, *V. D. Bonch-Bruevich—izdatel'* (Moscow, Nauka, 1972), p. 40, and A. M. Ioffe, *Izdatel'skaia deiatel'nost' Bol'shevikov v 1905–1907 gg.* (Moscow, Kniga, 1976), pp. 72–4, 84–5.

²³ We say 'at least' because the *Svodnyi katalog russkoi nelegal'noi i zapreshchennoi pechati* (note 2) (vol. I, #566, p. 103), relying upon the holdings of major Soviet repositories, lists for example only five editions of Catherine II's *Zapiski*, whereas the Davis Library at the University of North Carolina holds the seventh edition. It would stand to reason that pre-Soviet as well as Soviet repositories made little or no effort to collect later editions of works they already held, especially when the material remained unchanged from edition to edition.

volumes of the series, arranged by theme, in eight volumes of another series, entitled *Sobranie materialov dlia istorii vrozozhdeniia Rossii* (A Collection of Materials for the History of the Rebirth of Russia). Several of them seem to have sold particularly well, especially volume III, entitled *Aristokratsiia i biurokratsiia v Rossii* [sic] (Aristocracy and Bureaucracy in Russia), comprising works by Chicherin and Aksakov, and a collection of forbidden poems and stories, which went through at least six editions.

The International Library series accounted for slightly over one half of Kasprovicz's Russian-language publications. There were however other series and titles that bear mention. Perhaps the most noteworthy was his poetry series, which began with *Liutnia: Sobranie svobodnykh russkikh pesen'* [sic] i stikhotvorenii (The Lute: A Collection of Free Russian Songs and Poems), a collection of poems culled from various newspapers and journals published in the West, including Herzen's. (He had a similar series, entitled *Lutnia*, in Polish.) This series represented Kasprovicz's initial major publishing success; the first volume went through nine editions, the second ... four, and the third ... two. These were followed by even greater successes: collections of banned poems of Pushkin and Lermontov, the former going through at least fifteen editions (and including a hitherto-unpublished poem), and the latter ... fourteen! Then there were the poems of Heine, Kiukhel'beker, Ryleev, and others. The remainder of his publications were drawn from heterogeneous sources, and reflect no specific political platform, except for what seems to be a desire to call into question the legitimacy of an oppressive regime. Related to this desire, by the mid-1890s an increasing percentage of his Russian-language books deal with Poland and with Polish-Russian relations.²⁴

Where did Kasprovicz acquire his material? Here he followed the lead of Brockhaus. Of the first twenty-eight volumes of the 'International Library' series at least some, and in many cases all, of the material in all but one (and perhaps that as well) had already been published in one form or another by Alexander Herzen in his various publications: *Kolokol* (The Bell), *Istoričeskii sbornik* (Historical Collection), *Poliarnaia zvezda* (Polar Star), *Golosa iz Rossii* (Voices from Russia), and his monographic publications on the Free Russian Press.²⁵ (To judge by the liberty with which Kasprovicz and others republished the works of the Free Russian Press, they were not subject to

²⁴ Religious themes were also touched upon with frequency beginning in the 1870s (Kasprovicz was President of the Society of Spiritualists in Leipzig).

²⁵ As things now stand, we can identify only one book among the first twenty-eight in the series whose material cannot be shown to stem directly or indirectly from Herzen's publications: *Skopcheskie dukhnovnye pesni i nechto iz bogoslužhenii skoptsev v Rossii*, *Mezhdunarodnaia biblioteka*, t. 21 (Leipzig, 1879). Unfortunately, it is one of Kasprovicz's books that is unavailable to us. Access to it may well reveal that it too is derived from Herzen.

copyright restrictions.) The dependence on Herzen may help account for the preponderance of works on the reigns of Catherine II, Paul I and Alexander I. Kasprowicz was in effect republishing works that had already been published a decade or two earlier by Herzen after the manuscripts had gathered dust in Russian drawers and archives for decades. Frequently the individual volumes in the International Library series reproduced Herzen's products exactly, down to his introductions. Only when Kasprowicz had exhausted this lode did he turn elsewhere. Most of that which he subsequently mined had also already appeared in one form or another in the West or else was written in the West. With the exception of the unpublished Pushkin poem, there is no evidence that he was the recipient of original manuscripts smuggled out of Russia. The link with Herzen may also account for the timing of the bulk of Kasprowicz's publishing activity: only after the former died in 1870 did the latter apparently feel free to tap his resources. Given the thirty-year author's copyright that prevailed in Germany starting in 1870, he was unable to reproduce Herzen's own works.

As distinct from most of his peers, Kasprowicz was not a publisher whose works periodically fell foul of the censor. Rather, to judge by the evidence, he published only works that could not be published in Russia and, it would seem, that Brockhaus was unwilling to handle. So far as can be determined, not one of his seventy titles escaped condemnation at the hands of the tsarist authorities.²⁶ In some cases the ban persisted even beyond the 1905 Revolution.²⁷ His chief political aim in publishing these works seems to have been to discredit the Russian autocracy and its representatives, and thus to contribute to the creation of a more liberal Russia, one that presumably would emancipate its fellow Slavs in Russian Poland. As late as 1917, he wrote in German a pamphlet appealing for the creation of a free and independent Poland.²⁸ In keeping with his outlook, while critical of the state machinery, he was never critical of Russians in general. Instead, he seems to have viewed himself as a Pan-Slav, working for the welfare of all Slavs in

²⁶ There may be one exception; if so, again it is *Skopcheskie dukhovnye pesni*. Although described in M. M. Klevenkii, *Russkaia podpol'naia i zarubezhnaia pechat': bibliograficheskii ukazatel'*, vol. I: *Donarodovol'cheskii period, 1831–1879: Knigi, broshiury, listovki* (Moscow, Izd. Vsesoiuznogo obshchestva politkatorzhan i ssyl'no-poselentsev, 1935) (reprinted Cambridge, Mass., Oriental Research Partners, 1972), pp. 116–17, it was for some reason ignored by the editors of *Svodnyi katalog russkoi nelegal'noi i zapreshchennoi pechati XIX veka*, who expended great effort in tracking down the various illegal publications. That it proved acceptable to the autocracy, given the latter's attitude towards the Schismatics, seems unlikely.

²⁷ The ode *Vol'nost'* in Kasprowicz's *Materialy dlia biografii A. S. Pushkina* (Leipzig, 1875), for example, was adjudged inadmissible as late as 1910: see L. Polianskaia, 'Obzor fonda Tsentral'nogo komiteta tsenzury inostrannoi', *Arkhivnoe delo*, vol. XLV, no. 1 (1938), p. 115.

²⁸ Kasprowicz, *Wahrheit über Polen. Historisch-politische Betrachtung von E. L. Kasprowicz* (Leipzig, O. Mutze, 1917).

general, and the Poles in particular, and to have looked upon his publishing house as a centre of Polish, and even Slavic, cultural activity in Leipzig.²⁹

The foregoing analysis might well be interpreted as an attempt to fashion for Kasprowicz a niche within the pantheon of fighters for freedom and democracy in Eastern Europe. Our intentions were far more modest. Indeed, Kasprowicz's case is far too complex, even paradoxical, to permit such an attempt if that were ever our intention. Here is why. In May 1866, shortly after opening his own operations, and at a time when he had published only one Russian-language book—and that: Louis Napoleon's Biography of Julius Caesar, which sold poorly—he found himself in dire financial straits. His business debts, according to his own testimony, had reached the equivalent of one thousand silver rubles. Lacking the means to cope with them, he sent a desperate letter to V. A. Dolgorukov, Head of the Third Section, a branch of the Russian secret police, pleading for help. Maintaining that the Russian community had failed to support his endeavor, and playing up the potential boost his bookstore could provide for the unification of all the Slavs, he offered his services to the Section in return for a thousand-ruble loan.³⁰ Audacious to say the least, there is no indication that his appeal was ever answered. It could be that this same financial necessity forced him to go back to, or to remain with, Brockhaus after his return from Galicia. It may also account for the paucity of his publications in Russian until 1869.

Be that as it may, this was not to be the only time that Kasprowicz was to communicate in confidence with Alexander II's gendarmes. Again almost a decade later, in 1875, he approached the Head of the Third Section, P. A. Shuvalov, this time in search of a subsidy for the journal *Oborona* (Defence), a weekly anti-positivist, anti-nihilist and anti-Communist organ.³¹ Hardly surprisingly, once again the Section would have nothing to do with him. What is perhaps surprising is Kasprowicz's hope that a journal to be edited by Ivan Golovin, an odious figure in the Russian emigration, might possibly garner Third Section approval. Whatever his intentions, Kasprowicz was clearly out of touch not merely with the outlook of Alexander II and his agents, but with the mainstream of the Russian émigré community. The quixotic politics (or, alternatively, the shaky financial situation) may well

²⁹ See his proposal in his brochure entitled *Das Slawische Commissionshaus in Leipzig. Ein Vorschlag von E. L. Kasprowicz* (Leipzig, 1875). It also exists in Polish.

³⁰ Gertsen (note 7), vol. XVIII, pp. 429–31.

³¹ Letter of 31 December 1875, in Gertsen (note 7), vol. XIV, pp. 609–10. While Kasprowicz may have been anti-Marxist, he nonetheless brought out what appears to be the first Polish edition of volume I of *Das Kapital* in 1884.

account for Herzen's refusal in 1865 to allow Kasprowicz to sell his books on commission.³²

The incidents with the secret police help highlight the marginal position occupied by independent Russian-language book publishers abroad. These publishers as a rule survived for only the briefest periods of time, with few leaving any lasting mark. The most prominent of them all, A. I. Herzen, required years before he could claim that his enterprise was covering its costs. All the more surprising, and impressive, is the fact that Kasprowicz managed to survive financially as long as he did without subsidy from either a government or an emigré organization. It may well have been his continued work with Brockhaus that enabled him to live. Indeed, it was not until 1909, three years after he sold his own book stock, that at the age of seventy-four he finally retired from the firm.



The reader must bear in mind the caveat that Russian-language book publishing was but one aspect of Kasprowicz's total publishing activity, and a focus on that one particular aspect may well distort his overall activity. Be that as it may, the study of his enterprise can serve as the starting point for a larger study of the publication of forbidden Russian works abroad, a topic that with the exception of Herzen's press has thus far been largely ignored. Investigation reveals that Kasprowicz was only one of many publishers operating in Europe—in England, France, Switzerland, Saxony, and Prussia, where relatively lenient press laws protected their activity. Any detailed examination of Russian-language book publishing abroad must take into consideration the activities of publishers such as Gustav Behr, A. Franck, H. Georg, Wolfgang Gerhard, and Ferdinand Schneider. All in their own way made the circulation of the printed word far freer than the tsarist regime intended.

From hindsight, it might be argued that the significance of Kasprowicz, and that of his competitors as well, for the history of Russian-language book publishing is to some extent attributable to the policies of the tsarist regime. It would seem that where censorship is mild or absent, the role of publisher (and editor, too, in the case of newspapers) tends to be less critical to a nation's intellectual life than it does where it is harsh. Given relative freedom of the press, the author requires less in the way of courage, determination

³² Kasprowicz had approached Polish emigré bookstore owner Stanisław Tchorzewski, a London colleague of Herzen's, in February 1865, perhaps because Herzen was one of the few Russians to view the Polish uprising of 1863 sympathetically: see Gurvich-Lishiner, *Letopis' zhizni i tvorchestva Gertsena* (note 11), vol. IV, pp. 99–100. For a Polish translation of the original document, see Julian Aleksander Balaszewicz, *Raporty szpiega*, 2 vols (Warsaw, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), vol. II, p. 20.

and/or ingenuity on the part of his publisher in order to communicate directly with his reading public. Where censorship is harsh, however, the publisher's role becomes magnified. To him in this case falls the responsibility for making available to the public works considered undesirable by the authorities. He may fulfill his responsibility in one of two ways: either by circumventing as best he can the censor at home, or by eluding him entirely by setting up operations abroad. It was this second route that Kasprowicz ended up pursuing.

The publication abroad of Russian books unable to get by the censor at home picked up in Germany, and elsewhere in Europe, in the late 1850s, after the entry of Herzen's works from England had been prohibited. It went into decline in the mid-sixties, perhaps in anticipation of the implementation of the serf emancipation and other reforms.³³ It soared again a decade later, presumably in response to a combination of factors: disenchantment with those same reforms; the failure of the 1865 censorship law to bring about substantial improvement in the situation of Russian book publishing;³⁴ and the relative freedom recently granted the German book trade.³⁵ Systematic control of the printed word at home coupled with political repression created a void that could only be filled, in any case partially, by those able to work abroad. It was at this point that Kasprowicz and others began actively to play a role that until very recently seemed to be a permanent feature of the Russian book publishing landscape.

The business proved hazardous, and not terribly profitable, to judge by Kasprowicz's appeals to the Third Section. Publishers came and went with great rapidity, some managing to produce no more than two or three books before disappearing. Kasprowicz was one of the most stable of them all; he certainly was among the most prolific. His contribution was also unique. While Russian emigrés such as Elpidin put forward specific political platforms,³⁶ Kasprowicz contented himself with keeping alive the 'dissident'

³³ Soviet scholars tend to attribute the decrease in activity to the decline in 'the revolutionary situation': see *Kniga v Rossii* (note 17), p. 54.

³⁴ On the state's tendency to resort to administrative measures to offset the reluctance of the new courts to condemn offending publishers see Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804-1906* (Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, 1982), especially chapters 9, 10 and 11; and for specific examples of administrative persecution see also N. G. Patrusheva, 'Reforma tsenzury v Rossii 1865 g.: Zakon i praktika', in this issue of *Solanus*.

³⁵ On the new Gewerbefreiheit see Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 4 vols (Leipzig, Verlag des Börsenvereins der Deutschen Buchhändler, 1886-1913), vol. IV, pp. 474-5.

³⁶ On the publishing activities of the Populist Elpidin see M. Pinaev, 'M. K. Elpidin v 80-90-e gody. (Iz istorii russkoi emigratsii)', *Russkaia literatura*, 1966, no. 2, pp. 204-9, and 'Deiatel'nost' M. K. Elpidina i A. D. Trusova po izdaniuu revoliutsionno-demokraticeskoi literatury v 1850-nachale 1880-kh gg.', *Kniga v Rossii* (note 17), pp. 55-8.

literature of the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. By so doing, he served an essential function: if Trübner served as the link between Herzen and Brockhaus, and the latter—as the link between Herzen and Kasprowicz, Kasprowicz in turn may be said to have acted as an essential intermediary between Herzen's publications and the Russian reading public in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Throughout that period it was he who, more avidly than anyone else, republished works that had originally been produced by the Free Russian Press in London. Thanks to him, and to others like him, the Russian reading public gained access to the dissident literature of the past, literature that tsarist agents had tried so hard to suppress.

MARIJANA DWORSKI

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Петербургская газета 'Порядок'

(Из истории либеральной прессы 80-х гг. XIX в.)

В. Е. Кельнер

В 1880 г. известный петербургский издатель и общественный деятель М. М. Стасюлевич получил разрешение выпускать под своей редакцией ежедневную газету 'Порядок'. История разрешения неразрывно связана с так называемой политикой 'либерализации', проводимой новым министром внутренних дел М. Т. Лорис-Меликовым. Видимо в новой газете, возглавляемой известным деятелем либеральной оппозиции, Лорис-Меликов надеялся найти не только поддержку, но с временем сделать ее орудием усиления своего влияния на общественное мнение страны.

Решение об издании газеты было принято М. М. Стасюлевичем в сентябре 1880 г. после встречи с новым начальником Главного Управления по делам печати Н. С. Абазой. Сразу после этого визита Стасюлевич писал жене о том, что '... нашел с его стороны полнейшую готовность к содействию мне в этом предприятии'.¹ Встречи с Абазой, бывшим в ту пору правой рукой Лорис-Меликова, следовали одна за другой. Сначала в доме у видного либерального теоретика и публициста К. Д. Кавелина, а затем и на квартире у самого Стасюлевича.² Конечно на этих встречах обсуждались не только вопросы изданий новой газеты, но и политические события, шли поиски возможных путей сотрудничества либеральной оппозиции и склонной к политическому лавированию группировки Лорис-Меликова. Одним из результатов этих переговоров стала подача Стасюлевичем прошения о разрешении издавать газету. Симптоматично, что поданное 18 сентября в Министерство внутренних дел прошение было подписано уже спустя два дня.³ Ранее на прохождение подобного прошения уходило не менее месяца. В те же дни Стасюлевич был удостоен личной аудиенции у Лорис-Меликова и, как писал издатель, 'был принят очень любезно'.⁴

Новая газета должна была выходить без предварительной цензуры и руководствоваться следующей программой:

Отдел I: Обзорение и руководящие статьи по различным отраслям и проявлениям правительственной деятельности и общественной жизни, в самом широком смысле этого слова, как у нас, так и за

¹ Институт Русской литературы. Рукописный отдел (далее ИРЛИ РО), ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 103, л. 133.

² ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 103, л. 113, 133 об.

³ ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 103, л. 143.

⁴ ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 103, л. 152.

границей; сюда относятся, главным образом, вопросы общей политики, государственного и народного хозяйства, а равно и общественное образование ... вопросы и важнейшие явления в области науки и искусства; театр, печать и литература.

Отдел II: Известия, относящиеся к вышеупомянутым предметам; фельетон из науки и искусства, а также текущей общественной жизни; корреспонденции внутренние и заграничные ...⁵

Столь быстрое разрешение нового издательского предприятия оказалось все же для Стасюлевича неожиданностью. В эти дни он с волнением писал жене: 'Если радоваться всякому достижению цели, то это — радостное известие, но если под достижением цели разуместь успех — то придется подождать радоваться. Путь длинный и не без шипов ... Бывает не хорошо секундами, и как будто чувствуешь близость какой-то кошки, которая собирается поцарапать — но это скоро проходит.'⁶

Газету, названную символически — 'Порядок', было решено выпускать с 1 января 1881 г. Таким образом, на организацию технической стороны издания оставалось всего три месяца. Сообщая о своих новых заботах А. И. Скребницкому, одному из авторов 'Вестника Европы', Стасюлевич писал: 'Дело кропотливое и хлопотное, но нужно было взяться за него кому-нибудь из нас. Бульварных газет у нас довольно, — попробуем устроить газету кабинетную, а главное — чистоплотную.' Однако понимая, что одному не под силу будет организовать столь сложное дело, он восклицал в том же письме: 'В мои-то годы — да затевать ежедневную газету!!! Расчитываю на помощь друзей: помогайте!'⁷ И помощь пришла незамедлительно. Вест о том, что редактору 'Вестника Европы' разрешили выпускать газету, быстро стала достоянием гласности среди широкого круга интеллигенции. 'Вам, конечно, известно, — писал И. С. Тургенев из Парижа П. В. Анненкову, — что Стасюлевичу разрешено водружение знамени, около которого долженствует сгруппироваться слабосильная и малочисленная 'конституционная' партия; разрешено появление 'крамольного журнала под названием 'Порядок' ... Вероятно он и к Вам обратится. Надо помочь хорошему делу.'⁸ В условиях подъема общественного движения издание нового прогрессивного органа печати было поддержано деятелями демократического лагеря. В октябре 1880 г. в письме П. В. Анненкову М. Е. Салтыков-Щедрин следующим образом выразил свое отношение к этому событию: '... Стасюлевич издает с будущего года газету 'Порядок'. Заглавие неуклюжее, как и сам Стасюлевич, и газета, вероятно, будет тягучая. Но я все-таки желаю ему

⁵ ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 1769, л. 10.

⁶ ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 103, л. 142 об.

⁷ ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), 21.299, л. 163-165.

⁸ Тургенев И. С. Полное собрание сочинений в 30-ти томах. Москва, 1978, т. 12, с. 308.

всякого успеха, хотя ввиду того, что это может остепенить Суворина.’⁹ Помощь ‘Порядку’ была одной из тем разговора, состоявшегося при непосредственной встрече Стасюлевича с Салтыковым-Щедриным в октябре 1880 г. После нее Стасюлевич сообщал жене, что был у редактора ‘Отечественных записок’ и тот ‘... в противность обычаю, не только не обругал меня за газету, но охотно взялся приискать мне воскресного фельетониста — что особенно трудно: нужно, чтобы был и остроумен, и в то же время не клоуном.’¹⁰

Если в техническом и хозяйственном отношении новое дело могло всецело опереться на аппарат ‘Вестника Европы’ и типографию Стасюлевича, то главный элемент, обеспечивший успешное создание газеты — формирование корпуса корреспондентов и сотрудников, полностью зависел от энергии главного редактора и сочувствия общественности. К непосредственной работе в редакции ‘Порядка’ была привлечена группа ведущих журналистов тех лет. ‘Русский отдел’ газеты возглавил Ф. Ф. Воропонов, специалист в области экономики и статистики, часто выступавший на страницах ‘Вестника Европы’, ‘Недели’ и других органов печати. В ‘Порядке’ он не только редактировал материалы своего отдела, но и опубликовал около 100 собственных статей.¹¹ Первым заведующим иностранным отделом стал В. Ф. Корш, блестяще образованный историк и филолог, бывший в 60-70 гг. редактором крупной либеральной газеты ‘Санкт-Петербургские ведомости’. Заручившись его согласием на работу в ‘Порядке’, Стасюлевич радостно сообщал об этом К. Д. Кавелину: ‘Нет сомнения, что лучшего редактора иностранного отдела я не мог бы желать, да и во сне лучшего не увижу’¹² Однако весной 1881 г., получив разрешение на издание собственной газеты, Корш покинул ‘Порядок’. На посту редактора иностранного отдела его сменил Л. З. Слонимский, молодой публицист, бывший уже автором ‘Вестника Европы’. Должность секретаря редакции занял Е. К. Рапп, бывший незадолго до этого редактором газеты ‘Русский мир’, закрытой правительством в 1879 г. за попытку ‘... проводить мысль о необходимости изменения нашего государственного строя’.¹³ Заведующим отделом литературной критики стал А. И. Введенский, человек хорошо известный в литературном мире. Не менее знаменитым был и заместитель главного редактора ‘Порядка’ — Г. К. Градовский,

⁹ Салтыков-Щедрин М. Е. Собрание сочинений в 20-ти томах. Москва, 1976, т. 19, с. 176.

¹⁰ ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 103, л. 158.

¹¹ ИРЛИ РО, 13732 (Деловые бумаги Ф. Ф. Воропонова), л. 60-66.

¹² М. М. Стасюлевич и его современники и их переписка. Санкт-Петербург, 1911, т. 2, с. 153.

¹³ Центральный государственный исторический архив СССР (далее ЦГИА СССР), ф. 776 (Главное Управление по делам печати), оп. 6. 1879 г., № 402, л. 26-28.

прославившийся в 1878 г. своей статьей в защиту Веры Засулич. Стасюлевичу его рекомендовал А. Ф. Кони, после того, как редактируемая Градовским газета 'Русское обозрение' была запрещена цензурой.¹⁴ Сдержав обещание, данное Стасюлевичу, Салтыков-Щедрин прислал для работы в 'Порядке' в качестве автора воскресных фельетонов писателя С. Н. Терпигорева. По этому поводу он сообщал П. В. Анненкову: '... я подыскал Стасюлевичу даже фельетониста, Терпигорева, автора 'Оскудения'. Не знаю, вытанцуется ли из него что-нибудь интересное, во всяком случае, на первое время буду сам просматривать и руководить.'¹⁵

С февраля 1881 г. в 'Порядке' начал работать сотрудник журнала 'Дело' К. М. Станюкович, сообщавший из Петербурга о том, что приглашен, чтобы 'оживить [выделено автором] скучноватую газету С 1 февраля, — писал он далее, — буду ходить в редакцию с 11 до 2, буду вероятно членом редакции и кое-что работать. Они предложили литературный фельетон и обзор печати. Посмотрю, что выйдет, но от предложения не отказался, т.к. успею и в 'Деле' и в 'Порядке'. ... Стасюлевич платит превосходно и газета, во всяком случае, чистоплотная.'¹⁶ Станюкович вел в газете 'Очерки общественной жизни' и всего опубликовал в ней не менее десяти статей.¹⁷

Кроме формирования редакции Стасюлевич должен был найти корреспондентов и постоянных авторов не только в С.-Петербурге, но и в других городах страны. Здесь вновь большую поддержку ему оказали друзья и единомышленники. А. Ф. Кони опубликовал в 'Порядке' такие статьи как 'Перед нами скорбный флаг веет над дворцом' (о смерти Александра II), 'У гроба Достоевского', 'Судебные уставы на страницах Свода законов', 'Судебная реформа и практика' и другие.¹⁸ С обоснованием политической платформы либерального движения выступал в газете К. Д. Кавелин. Именно в 'Порядке' увидели свет его очерки '19 февраля 1861-1881 гг.' (о судьбе реформ 60-х гг.), 'Наши инородцы и иноверцы', 'По дороге. Заметки и впечатления', 'Из деревни' и ряд других статей и заметок.¹⁹ Театральную хронику вел в газете под псевдонимом

¹⁴ Градовский, Г. К. К истории русской печати. — Русская старина, 1882, т. 33, № 2, с. 491-495; Его же. Итоги. Киев, 1908, с. 73.

¹⁵ Салтыков-Щедрин М. Е. (примечание 9), т. 19, с. 176.

¹⁶ Государственная Публичная библиотека им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. Отдел рукописей (далее ГПБ ОР). ф. 736 (К. М. Станюкович), № 40, л. 6-7. Публикуя это письмо в Тургеневском сборнике (Ленинград, 1968, вып. 4, с. 285) Н. Н. Мостовская неверно прочла ряд слов текста, что привело к искажению его смысла.

¹⁷ Петрушков, В. С. Произведения К. М. Станюковича в периодической печати. Душанбе, 1963, с. 5.

¹⁸ Кони А. Ф. Собрание сочинений в 8-ми томах. Москва, 1969, т. 7, с. 257.

¹⁹ Порядок, 1881, № 1, 8, 49, 51, 54, 133, 149, 162, 174, 356.

А. Иванов крупнейший адвокат тех лет А. И. Урусов.²⁰ Свои научные обзоры публиковал в ней под криптонимом А. М. выдающийся русский химик А. М. Бутлеров. Среди авторов и корреспондентов 'Порядка' были писатели Ф. Д. Нефедов, И. И. Ясинский, Н. М. Минский и А. И. Эртель, ученые и общественные деятели Н. М. Ядринцев, Д. Н. Анучин, Г. Н. Потанин, И. И. Янжул, Н. И. Таганцев, публицисты В. А. Гольцев и Е. И. Утин. На страницах газеты можно было прочесть очерки Н. Зиберы и Н. А. Корфа, П. Дементьева, Ю. Янсона и В. В. Стасова.

М. М. Стасюлевич понимал, что для большой общественно-политической газеты необходимо иметь постоянного корреспондента в Москве. Им стал С. А. Муромцев, будущий первый председатель Государственной Думы и основатель Конституционно-демократической партии, видный общественный деятель. Практически он являлся одним из лидеров либеральной оппозиции в Москве, состоял гласным городской думы и был тесно связан с редакциями газет 'Земство' и 'Русские ведомости'. Начиная с первого номера, С. А. Муромцев регулярно публиковал в 'Порядке' за подписью 'Z' 'Письма из Москвы'. В них он знакомил читателей с разными сторонами общественной жизни Москвы, остро полемизировал с консервативными органами печати, критиковал городские власти.²¹

М. М. Стасюлевич стремился освещать в своей газете значительные события, происходившие не только в Петербурге и Москве, но и в любой точке Российской империи. Интересно отметить, что и в поисках провинциальных корреспондентов Стасюлевич также получил помощь от Салтыкова-Щедрина. Именно через него установил с 'Порядком' контакты уфимский корреспондент П. И. Добротворский, прославившийся своей борьбой с злоупотреблениями местной администрации.²² В то же время Стасюлевич энергично подыскивал для своей газеты иностранных корреспондентов. И здесь неоценимую помощь оказал ему И. С. Тургенев.²³ В октябре 1880 г., узнав о получении разрешения издавать газету, Тургенев писал Стасюлевичу: 'Поздравляю с успехом ... вследствие Вашего письма является другая забота: достать путных корреспондентов для 'Порядка' Могу поручиться за одно: в Париже найду корреспондента I-й сорт — только француза; русского Вы сами отлично

²⁰ Князь Александр Иванович Урусов. Москва, 1907, т. 1-2. В эту книгу вошли и его публикации из 'Порядка'.

²¹ ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 949, л. 1; Муромцев С. А. Сборник статей. Москва, 1911, с. 412.

²² Салтыков-Щедрин М. Е. (примечание 9), т. 19, кн. 1, с. 217; Кельнер В. Е. Под криптонимом П. И. — Советская библиография, 1986, № 5, с. 68-70.

²³ Мостовская Н. Н. Тургенев и газета М. М. Стасюлевича 'Порядок'. — Тургеневский сборник. Ленинград, 1968, вып. 4, с. 282-293.

определили. В Лондоне у меня есть на примете дельный соотечественник.'²⁴ Писатель сдержал свое обещание, обеспечив 'Порядок' корреспондентами во Франции Ж. Ф. А. Фукье и Г. Н. Вырубовым; а в Англии Э. Бизли. Интересно определение политического лица 'Порядка', данное Тургеневым в письме к Бизли: '... газета умеренно-либерального направления Чего от Вас *особенно* [здесь и далее выделено в тексте автором письма], ждут, так это суждений о политике *парламента*, о социальных, аграрных и религиозных вопросах; Вы будете затрагивать литературные и научные проблемы только тогда, когда они будут иметь определенное отношение к политике'²⁵ Таким образом Тургенев довольно точно очертил круг интересов той группы читателей, которая составила аудиторию 'Порядка' — либеральной и демократической интеллигенции. Этим не исчерпывалась конкретная помощь И. С. Тургенева новой газете. Он предоставил Стасюлевичу свой рассказ 'Старые портреты', содействовал появлению среди авторов 'Порядка' Ги де Мопассана и ряда других писателей и журналистов.²⁶

Постоянным корреспондентом в Вене стал С. Л. Клячко. В 70-е гг. он был деятельным членом подпольных народнических организаций, а затем эмигрировал в Австрию.²⁷

Необыкновенно плодотворно работала в качестве корреспондента 'Порядка' в Берлине писательница А. В. Каирова. С ее помощью Стасюлевич стремился укрепить европейские позиции газеты. Он писал Каировой: '... нужно иметь в Германии лицо, которое будет ежедневно информировать 'Порядок' о европейских событиях. Таким образом мы будем на следующий день утром иметь в 'Порядке' все, что вчера знал Берлин Если Вы найдете возможность получить какие-либо сведения раньше газет или других источников — тем лучше.'²⁸ Оценивая работу Каировой, М. М. Стасюлевич подчеркивал: 'Я очень дорожу своим берлинским корреспондентом: его пост очень важен в эту минуту.'²⁹

Энергия Стасюлевича и поддержка широких кругов прогрессивной общественности не пропали даром. Газета была создана к 1 января 1881 г., ее первый номер вышел в свет тиражом в 5 тысяч экземпляров.³⁰

Содержание газеты, ее идейная направленность определялись острой политической борьбой столь характерной для 1881 г. А. Ф. Кони,

²⁴ Тургенев И. С. (примечание 8), т. 12, с. 310.

²⁵ Тургенев И. С. (примечание 8), т. 13, кн. 1, с. 344.

²⁶ Тургенев И. С. (примечание 8), т. 12, кн. 2, с. 317; т. 13, кн. 1, с. 66-67, 417; Литературное наследство, т. 13, кн. 2, с. 92.

²⁷ ГПБ ОР, ф. 621 (А. Н. Пыпин), № 395, л. 1; Новая и новейшая история, 1962, № 1, с. 196.

²⁸ М. М. Стасюлевич и его современники ... (примечание 12), т. 1, с. 529.

²⁹ Там же.

³⁰ ЦГИА СССР, ф. 777 (Петербургский цензурный комитет), оп. 3, № 82, л. 16.

бывший одним из ее авторов, вспоминал позднее: '... с первых же своих номеров 'Порядок' занял видное и достойное место во вседневной печати, неуклонно разбирая общественные вопросы с точки зрения права и нравственного долга.'³¹ В первом же номере газеты М. М. Стасюлевич охарактеризовал цели и задачи своего издания: 'Самое возникновение нашей газеты было вызвано надеждой на лучшее у нас положение печатного слова.' Главным было формирование общественного мнения, т.к. '... теперь нам, как и всем образованным народам, нужен порядок, — а нет порядка без ясного и свободно сложившегося сознания своих прав и своего долга.'³²

В целом по ключевым проблемам того времени газета постоянно занимала прогрессивные позиции. Ее руководство настойчиво отстаивало идеи о необходимости политических реформ, уважения общественного мнения, расширения прав выборных учреждений и ограничения произвола царской администрации. Внимательными читателями 'Порядка' были И. С. Тургенев и М. Е. Салтыков-Щедрин, с одобрением относившиеся ко многим, опубликованным в нем материалам.³³ О солидарности с идеями, высказанными на страницах этой газеты, заявляли такие известные общественные деятели как А. В. Головнин, К. К. Арсеньев и П. В. Анненков.³⁴

Внимательно читали 'Порядок' и в лагере реакции. Самым разнузданным нападкам подверглась газета на страницах 'Дневника' В. П. Меццеского, 'Нового времени' А. С. Суворина, 'Московских ведомостей' М. Н. Каткова. Не обошел своим вниманием 'Порядок' и один из столпов реакции, обер-прокурор Синода К. П. Победоносцев. Он дважды безуспешно пытался воспрепятствовать публикации в газете критических материалов, посвященных высшему духовенству и деятельности Синода.³⁵ В мае 1881 г., узнав о приезде в Россию И. С. Тургенева, К. П. Победоносцев обратился к поэту Я. П. Полонскому со следующим предостережением: 'Не кстати он появился. Вы дружны с ним: чтобы вот по дружбе посоветовать ему не оставаться долго ни здесь, ни в Москве, а ехать скорее в деревню. Здесь он попадет в компанию 'Порядка', ему закружат голову — и Бог знает до чего он доведет себя.'³⁶

Вся история издания М. М. Стасюлевича — это практически история его единоборства с цензурой. Особенно сложным стало положение

³¹ Кони А. Ф. (примечание 18), т. 7, с. 226.

³² Порядок, 1881, 1(13) янв.

³³ Тургенев И. С. (примечание 8), т. 13, кн. 1, с. 33, 58, 68; Салтыков-Щедрин М. Е. (примечание 9), т. 19, кн. 2, с. 23.

³⁴ М. М. Стасюлевич и его современники ... (примечание 12), т. 1, с. 528-529; т. 3, с. 394-395; ИРЛИ РО, ф. 293 (М. М. Стасюлевич), оп. 1, № 165-2, л. 53.

³⁵ М. М. Стасюлевич и его современники ... (примечание 12), т. 1, с. 484-485.

³⁶ Цит. по: Сборник Пушкинского дома на 1923 г. Петроград, 1924, с. 286-287.

газеты после казни народовольцами Александра II. Одним из выражений последовавшей после этого реакции стало преследование прогрессивных органов печати. Уже 24 марта 1881 г. была запрещена розничная продажа 'Порядка'.³⁷ Наказание последовало за публикацию сообщения о крестьянских беспорядках, произошедших в селе Молоково Весьегонского уезда Тверской губернии. Эта корреспонденция была удостоена специального доклада, с которым М. Т. Лорис-Меликов обратился к Александру III, указывая на якобы имеющиеся в статье 'преувеличенные сведения об этих беспорядках'. Забыв о былых надеждах использовать 'Порядок' в своих планах по воздействию на общественное мнение страны, Лорис-Меликов потребовал воспретить газете розничную продажу. Александр III всецело одобрил эти меры.³⁸

Сменивший Лорис-Меликова на посту министра внутренних дел Н. П. Игнатьев не особенно скрывал свои намерения расправиться с демократической и либеральной печатью. С его приходом не было кажется месяца, чтобы М. М. Стасюлевича не вызывали в Цензурный Комитет. Нападки на 'Порядок' тяжело переживались Стасюлевичем, писавшем своему берлинскому корреспонденту А. В. Каировой: '... тяжелые времена, трудно выносимые, безумным теперь лучше быть, чем умным.'³⁹ Уже в марте Стасюлевич стал осознавать, что над газетой нависла опасность закрытия. Сразу же после событий 1 марта он писал Головину: 'Нужно же было мне открыть газету в такое время, когда и опытнейшему журналисту нелегко вести свое дело, если только он хочет вести его с каким-нибудь достоинством.'⁴⁰ Месяц спустя Стасюлевич информировал А. М. Жемчужникова: 'Дальнейшее существование газеты при настоящем положении дел довольно проблематическое, она оказывается не по сезону. Не знаю, что будет дальше, но пока — невыносимо тяжело — до дурноты.'⁴¹

В мае газете было запрещено на один месяц печатать частные объявления, что привело издателя к серьезным финансовым затруднениям. 2 мая 'Порядок' вышел в свет с незаполненными столбцами объявлений, что было своеобразным протестом против произвола цензуры. 'Добрейший Иван Сергеевич, — писал в те дни М. М. Стасюлевич, — посылаю Вам преступление (номер 1 мая) и белое наказание в виде запрещения печатать объявления (номер 2 мая).'⁴² В мае 1881 г., когда истек срок запрещения розничной продажи, Стасюлевич направил министру внутренних дел

³⁷ ЦГИА СССР, ф. 776 (Главное Управление по делам печати), оп. 1, № 17, л. 12.

³⁸ Там же, л. 12-17.

³⁹ ГПБ ОР, ф. 327 (А. В. Каирова), № 9, л. 9.

⁴⁰ Цит. по: 1 марта 1881 года. Москва, 1933, с. 187.

⁴¹ М. М. Стасюлевич и его современники ... (примечание 12), т. 4, с. 336.

⁴² Тургеневский сборник. Ленинград, 1967, вып. 3, с. 396.

Н. П. Игнатьеву письмо о том, что это наказание было наложено на газету за публикацию корреспонденции о крестьянских волнениях в Весьегонском уезде. При этом Стасюлевич не удержался, чтобы не отметить, что 'самый факт беспорядков очень скоро подтвердился, но тем не менее министерство нашло необходимым, за простое и своевременное извещение о совершившемся факте, наложить на газету одну из самых тяжелых кар.' И далее, с необычным для него сарказмом, замечает Игнатьеву: 'Правда, администрация вскоре убедилась, что такая кара газеты не уничтожает беспорядков, и несколько дней спустя в Красном Холме повторилось то же, но уже в большем размере ...'. 'Ваше Сиятельство, — продолжал в том же тоне Стасюлевич, — может быть, не разделяет того мнения, что кара газете, обязанной своевременно доводить до всеобщего сведения совершившиеся факты ... не есть лучшая мера против беспорядков.'⁴³ Это послание — акт гражданского мужества. Оно говорит о том, что Стасюлевич не только и не столько был доведен до отчаяния преследованиями властей, но главным образом, остро и болезненно переживал крушение своих либеральных иллюзий в отношении мирной политической эволюции от абсолютного самодержавия к конституционной монархии.

М. М. Стасюлевич понимал, что власти ищут только благоприятный предлог для новых репрессий и закрытия газеты. 'Как видите, из меня жилы тянут и кровь сосут, — жаловался он К. Д. Кавелину, — потерплю, пока терпится.'⁴⁴ Спасти газету во что бы то ни стало — такова была цель Стасюлевича летом 1881 г. Это неизбежно привело к снижению критической направленности публикаций 'Порядка'. Переход к тактике 'выживания' был тотчас отмечен М. Е. Салтыковым-Щедриным. В сентябре 1881 г. в письме В. П. Гаевскому он иронически заметил: '“Порядок” это такая газета ... такая газета ... ах, какая это газета! И такой злой этот Стасюлевич ...'.⁴⁵ Недовольство уступками цензуре выразил и А. И. Эртель, писавший А. Н. Пыпину: 'Мне везет: когда я послал в "Порядок" корреспонденцию, в которой отмечал нынешнюю смуту умов в крестьянстве, корреспонденция эта была изуродована до смешного — вероятно из боязни какого-нибудь циркуляра.'⁴⁶

Однако лавирование и предельная осторожность Стасюлевича не предохранили 'Порядок' от цензурных кар. В августе 1881 г. он делился с А. Ф. Кони своими заботами: 'Читаете ли Вы "Порядок"? По нему Вы можете судить, что мы строго выдерживаем щедринскую программу:

⁴³ Центральный государственный архив Октябрьской революции, ф. 730 (Н. П. Игнатьев), оп. 1, № 3908, л. 1-1 об.

⁴⁴ М. М. Стасюлевич и его современники ... (примечание 12), т. 2, с. 156.

⁴⁵ Салтыков-Щедрин М. Е. (примечание 9), т. 19, кн. 1, с. 33.

⁴⁶ ГПБ ОР, ф. 621 (А. Н. Пыпин), № 1021, л. 30-30 об.

‘Тихо, благородно — и при том свободно ...’ и переливаем из пустого в порожнее, но все таки находят, — была опять беседа, — что мы и это невинное занятие выполняем с какой-то предрезостью.’⁴⁷ В сентябре его вызвали в Главное управление по делам печати и объявили о том, что запрещение розничной продажи ‘Порядка’ не может быть снято, т.к. ‘... газета недавно выразила удовольствие, что последняя война кончилась Берлинским протоколом, и одобрила правительство за то, что оно не впуталось в новую войну.’⁴⁸ Наверное это был единственный случай, когда газета получила наказание ... за поддержку правительства. Однако попытка окончательно запугать Стасюлевича имела противоположный эффект. ‘Никакая розничная продажа, ни даже оптовая, не лишат меня здравого смысла и совести’, — писал издатель по этому поводу А. В. Каировой.⁴⁹

Летом 1881 г. цензором Петербургского цензурного комитета С. И. Коссовичем был подготовлен специальный доклад министру внутренних дел под сакраментальным заглавием ‘О предосудительном направлении газеты ‘Порядок’.’ В нем давался перечень ‘прегрешений’ газеты, накопившихся к тому времени. Среди них и цитирование запрещенной литературы и положительные рецензии на произведения М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина, которые, по мнению С. И. Коссовича, были ‘использованы их автором для проведения крайне предосудительных мыслей’.⁵⁰ Еще одним подрывным деянием газеты было ‘выражение согласия с мнением Харьковского Губернского земского собрания о необходимости особого съезда для разрешения вопроса о крестьянском самоуправлении’ и многое, многое другое.⁵¹ Завершая анализ ‘антиправительственной’ деятельности ‘Порядка’, автор доклада констатировал: ‘Цель газеты отыскивать во всех сферах русской жизни указание на неудовлетворительность существующего органического государственного строя и необходимости его переустройства на началах народного представительства, усвоенных Западною Европою.’⁵²

Когда гонения со стороны цензуры и нападки правой печати слились в едином хоре, М. М. Стасюлевич сравнил свое положение с ‘избиением нагайками всенародно’. ‘Это не жизнь, — писал он А. Н. Пыпину, — а непрерывный ряд невыносимых мук: по чувству которое испытываешь, желал бы обратиться к дубине, а не к суду.’⁵³

⁴⁷ Кони А. Ф. (примечание 18), т. 7, с. 228.

⁴⁸ ГПБ ОР, ф. 423 (А. Н. Лбовский), № 1045, л. 4 об.-5.

⁴⁹ Там же.

⁵⁰ ЦГИА СССР, ф. 777 (Петербургский цензурный комитет), оп. 3, № 82, л. 157.

⁵¹ Там же, л. 158.

⁵² Там же.

⁵³ ГПБ ОР, ф. 621 (А. Н. Пыпин), № 832, л. 13.

И все же 'Порядок' продолжал выходить. Стасюлевич объявил даже о подписке на 1882 год. Но уже 9 января 1882 г. издатель получил тревожное письмо от М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. 'В сию минуту, т.е. в 12 — часов утра — говорилось в нем, — мы еще не имеем сегодняшнего 'Порядка', хотя обыкновенно получали газету в 10 часов ... не случилось ли чего-нибудь?' ⁵⁴ Опасения писателя оправдались. Издание газеты было приостановлено на полтора месяца министром внутренних дел Н. П. Игнатьевым.⁵⁵ Поводом для этого избрали публикацию в седьмом номере за 1882 г. 'Отчета о заседании Московской городской думы'. Министр сослался на объявленное еще 28 мая 1881 г. запрещение публиковать 'какие-либо сведения, касающиеся земских и думских постановлений, приговоров, адресов, а равно и отчетов о их заседаниях без предварительного разрешения'.⁵⁶ Имеющиеся документы, однако, показывают, что судьба 'Порядка' была уже давно решена. Закрытия газеты требовали все правые силы страны. В январе 1882 г. Н. П. Игнатьев подобострастно отчитывался перед всеильным К. П. Победоносцевым: 'Я запретил 'Порядок' на полтора месяца Довольны ли Вы, наконец мною?' ⁵⁷

Сообщение о приостановке 'Порядка' взволновало прогрессивную общественность — справедливо видевшую в этом новое проявление реакционного курса правительства. 'Вчера же прочел известие о том, что дамоклов меч, столь долго висевший над 'Порядком', обрушился наконец на него', — писал издателю И. С. Тургенев. Оценивая это событие, он продолжал: 'Понять это невозможно: остается сожалеть, — не о 'Порядке', а о правительстве' ⁵⁸

Тема 'Стасюлевич и 'Порядок'' в эти дни постоянно звучала в переписке М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина.⁵⁹ В дни, когда решалась судьба газеты, писатель, один из лидеров демократического движения, встретился со Стасюлевичем. Описывая эту встречу, он писал Н. А. Белоголовому: 'Стасюлевич сначала было волновался, но теперь присмирел. Его, так сказать, в корне подсекли, в самом начале подписки. И вот еще факт для характеристики русской публики, — продолжал Салтыков-Щедрин, — Едва узнали о прекращении 'Порядка' на полтора месяца, как контору начали осаждать подписчики с требованием возврата денег. Будет ли Стасюлевич продолжать 'Порядок' — не знаю, да и сам он ничего, кажется, не решил. На днях я обедал вместе с ним у Гаевского, и он не

⁵⁴ Салтыков-Щедрин М. Е. (примечание 9), т. 19, кн. 2, с. 80.

⁵⁵ ЦГИА СССР, ф. 776 (Главное Управление по делам печати), оп. 1, № 18, л. 2.

⁵⁶ Там же.

⁵⁷ К. П. Победоносцев и его корреспонденты. Москва, Петроград, 1923, т. 1, кн. 1, с. 85.

⁵⁸ Тургенев И. С. (примечание 8), т. 13, кн. 1, с. 187.

⁵⁹ Салтыков-Щедрин М. Е. (примечание 9), т. 19, кн. 2, с. 81.

говорит ни да ни нет. И в газете ничего не объявляет.' И далее писатель зло добавляет: 'А псы: Краевский и Суворин процветают.'⁶⁰

Колебания М. М. Стасюлевича, продолжать или нет выпуск газеты, длились не долго. В последних числах января он объявил о прекращении издания 'Порядка'. Многими современниками это решение было воспринято как протест против произвола властей. Г. К. Градовский, бывший заместитель Стасюлевича, вспоминал о том, что газета 'прекратилась, не желая подчиниться натиску реакционного произвола и беззастенчивого разрушения всех приобретений освободительной эпохи.'⁶¹

Выпуск и редактирование газеты 'Порядок' оказался ярким эпизодом в истории издательской деятельности М. М. Стасюлевича, стал важной и показательной страницей в истории общественно-политической борьбы в период второй революционной ситуации. Газета была одним из органов либерального движения. В ряде случаев в ее издании приняли участие и деятели демократического лагеря, стремившиеся поддержать 'Порядок' в борьбе с реакцией. Однако решающую роль в газете играли представители русского либерализма.

Выпуск газеты 'Порядок', наряду с изданием журнала 'Вестник Европы' и сотен других книг, сделали имя М. М. Стасюлевича широко известным в стране, укрепили его политический авторитет и превратили его предприятие в издательский центр русского либерального движения.

В то же время вся история борьбы вокруг этой газеты наглядно демонстрирует особую направленность репрессивной, охранительной деятельности правительства. Неоправданность антилиберального ожесточения, стремление к подавлению даже самых скромных реформистских чаяний интеллигенции привело, в конце концов, к тому, что это общественное движение оказалось наиболее слабым звеном в политической структуре России, что предопределило в дальнейшем многие негативные особенности истории страны.

⁶⁰ Там же, с. 86.

⁶¹ Градовский Г. К. Итоги. Киев, 1908, с. 6.

Реформа цензуры в России 1865 г.: закон и практика

Н. Г. Патрушева

Цензурная реформа, проведенная царизмом в 1865 г., явилась значительным шагом вперед в истории цензурного законодательства, положив начало переходу от системы предварительной цензуры к закону о печати, основанному на свободном печатании с ответственностью за нарушение правил исключительно в судебном порядке. Однако закон был утвержден в период перешедшей в наступление реакции, что в значительной степени определило его охранительную сущность. Одни параграфы устава предоставляли печати определенную свободу, другие — резко снижали их значение.

В Петербурге и Москве от цензуры освобождались оригинальные сочинения объемом не менее десяти печатных листов и переводы объемом не менее двадцати. Таким образом, книги небольшого объема оставались под контролем цензуры: они были гораздо дешевле и часто более доступны для читателя. На всей остальной территории империи от предварительной цензуры освобождались только правительственные и научные издания, чертежи, планы и карты. Освободив периодические издания от предварительной цензуры, закон вводил ограничение: без цензуры могли выходить лишь те издания, которые получали разрешение министра внутренних дел, при условии внесения крупного денежного залога. Для обуздания неугодных в арсенале цензурных органов наряду с мерами пресечения в судебном порядке, была оставлена система административных взысканий. Таким образом, цензура оставляла за собой право наказывать 'крамольные' издания, не руководствуясь точной буквой закона, а по своему усмотрению. Одной из мер для усиления контроля над издательской деятельностью был концессионный порядок основания периодических изданий, типографий, литографий, книжных магазинов и библиотек, т.е. обязательное получение разрешения местных властей, учитывавших 'благонадежность' просителя.

С помощью нового закона правительство пыталось управлять общественным мнением: власти старались ввести печать в нужное им русло и прекратить критику политики царизма.

На практике положения цензурного устава 6 апреля 1865 г. применялись крайне односторонне. Первые же судебные процессы по делам печати показали, что обновленные суды не отвечают интересам администрации, которая не привыкла подчиняться законам. Прокурор мог поддерживать обвинение перед судом против автора или издателя только

в том случае, если в произведении содержалось нарушение какой-либо определенной статьи законодательства. Часто судебные процессы прекращали за недостатком оснований судебного преследования, иногда они заканчивались оправданием обвиняемых.

Министра внутренних дел П. А. Валуева не устраивала независимость суда от администрации, и он призывал судебные власти оказывать 'надлежащее содействие' в сдерживании литературы.¹ В записке 'О положении дел печати' (8 февр. 1868 г.) Валуев подчеркивал, что пресса стремится к ответственности по суду, так как она научилась объясняться с читателями при помощи 'оговорок или недоговорок', а суд 'не имеет права догадываться'.² Печати выгодно, чтобы 'читатель мог в известных случаях догадаться, но чтобы правительство не могло доказать, что и оно догадалось'.³ В отчете Главного управления за 1868-1870 гг. подчеркивалось, что бесполезно применять судебное преследование, пока 'суды не поймут, что они также учреждения правительственные, а потому в делах печати, возбужденных правительством, должны быть с ним солидарны, то есть при полном беспристрастии разделять его взгляды на смысл и применение законов'.⁴

Поэтому цензурные учреждения предпочитали расправляться с неудобными изданиями по возможности административными методами, не прибегая к судебному преследованию. В журнале заседаний Совета Главного управления по делам печати от 9 сентября 1865 г. указывалось, что в тех случаях, когда малы шансы добиться наказания по суду, необходимо налагать административные взыскания.⁵ Об эффективности административных взысканий писал С. Мстиславский: это 'единственный скорый и единственный безотказный суд. ... Помимо простоты административное воздействие неocenенно и потому, что оно вводит нас в сферу неограниченных возможностей. ... Можно было, при должной сдержанности, уклониться от воздействия статей уголовного уложения, ... от администрации, действующей преимущественно, если не исключительно, 'по впечатлению' — оберечься не было никаких способов.'⁶

Наиболее распространенной мерой взыскания периодическим изданиям стало предостережение. Предостережения давались за статьи, в которых обнаруживали 'вредное направление'. Уже за первые четыре

¹ О попытках П. А. Валуева договориться о согласованности действий с Министерством юстиции см.: Чернуха В. Г. Правительственная политика в отношении печати, 60-70-е годы XIX века. Ленинград, 1989, с. 71-78.

² Цит. по: Чернуха В. Г. (примечание 1), с. 46.

³ Центральный государственный исторический архив (далее ЦГИА), ф. 908, оп. 1, д. 104, л. 88.

⁴ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 4, д. 5, л. 36.

⁵ ЦГИА, оп. 2, д. 1, л. 73 об.-74.

⁶ Мстиславский С. Законы о печати. — Заветы, 1912, № 6, с. 98-99.

месяца после введения в действие нового закона печать получила пять предостережений. 'Над головами писателей и редакторов повешен Дамоклов меч в виде двух предостережений и третьего, за которым следует приостановка издания, — писал А. В. Никитенко, — меч этот находится в руке министра: он опускает его, когда ему заблагорассудится, и даже не обязан мотивировать свой поступок. Итак, это чистейший произвол.'⁷

Однако часто случалось так, что, с одной стороны, благодаря различным уловкам, статья не могла служить поводом для предостережения, а с другой — невозможно было возбудить и судебное преследование за отсутствием соответствующего данному случаю закона. В таких ситуациях П. А. Валуев настаивал на применении административных взысканий. Так, в случае с первым номером 'Женского вестника', министр заявил, что 'цензура не суд, а администрация, и следовательно несколько не обязана стесняться теорией формальных улик. Известное направление может быть ею познаваемо по известным признакам.'⁸

Часто органы власти шли на нарушение законов. Так, 28 мая 1866 г. по повелению Следственной комиссии П. П. Гагарина были запрещены 'Современник' и 'Русское слово'. Эти издания давно наводили ужас на консервативную часть общества. Так, Н. Щербина писал 12 июня 1866 г. А. И. Георгиевскому в редакцию 'Московских ведомостей': 'Из отчета здешней Публичной библиотеки видно, что эти два дикие журнала спрашивались публикою более всего прочего в несказанном большинстве. Да ведь это на бумаге напечатанные Каракозовы'⁹ И. А. Гончаров в отчете об общем направлении периодических изданий за 1865-1866 гг. отмечал, что журнал 'Русское слово' '... почти в каждой статье напрашивался сам на то, чтобы кончить свое существование преждевременною и насильственною смертью'.¹⁰

Однако незаконным запрещением журналов (по уставу 6 апреля 1865 г. они могли быть прекращены или на основании судебного приговора, или по решению Сената) возмущались и лица, абсолютно не сочувствующие пропагандируемым ими идеям. 'Я не помню давно, — писал А. В. Никитенко, — чтобы правительственная мера производила такое единодушное и всеобщее негодование, как ... запрещение двух журналов ... впрочем, потому, что сделано помимо закона.'¹¹

Издательница журнала 'Женский вестник' А. Б. Мессарош в октябре

⁷ Никитенко А. В. Дневник в 3-х томах. Москва, 1955, т. 2, с. 515.

⁸ Собственноручные отметки министра внутренних дел на журналах Совета Главного управления по делам печати. Санктпетербург, 1868, с. 33.

⁹ Центральный государственный архив Октябрьской революции (далее ЦГАОР), ф. 109, оп. 1, д. 2028, л. 20 об.

¹⁰ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 3, д. 18, л. 159.

¹¹ Никитенко А. В. (примечание 7), т. 3, с. 40.

1866 г. отправилась к начальнику Главного управления М. П. Щербинину с жалобой на противозаконные действия председателя Петербургского цензурного комитета, который, по ее словам, просил цензора де-Роберти ‘задерживать, теснить и не выпускать книжки журнала’, прибавляя, что ‘он желал бы, чтобы журнал этот прекратился’. В записке было указано, что А. Г. Петров ‘искусственно тянет с рассмотрением, а потом запрещает даже те статьи, которые были одобрены цензором’.¹² После разбора этого дела Совет Главного управления вынес решение: ‘рассматривать статьи для этого журнала строже и каждый раз в общем собрании ... цензурного комитета и ... обращать особенное внимание не только на отдельные в них выражения, но и на общую группировку статей.’¹³

Постоянно подвергались взысканиям издания И. С. Аксакова. 25 марта 1867 г. Валуев писал Александру II, что газета ‘Москва’ ‘по враждебному в отношении к правительству направлению ... должна считаться вредным в некоторой степени органом прессы’.¹⁴ В июне 1867 г. возобновленная после первой приостановки ‘Москва’ выразила надежду, что ‘и для русской печати наступит скоро свое 19-е февраля’.¹⁵ Ф. М. Толстой предложил статью ‘принять к сведению как весьма крупный факт, ясно доказывающий, что редактор ... упорно следует направлению, вызвавшему карательные противу него меры’.¹⁶ За статью было объявлено первое предостережение. Вскоре редакция получила и второе. ‘Дающая предостережения рука не оскудевает’,¹⁷ — писала по этому поводу газета. За это ‘Москва’ получила третье предостережение и была закрыта на четыре месяца, а в 1868 г., после закрытия на шесть месяцев, была окончательно запрещена. В декабре 1867-феврале 1868 г. вместо приостановленной ‘Москвы’ издавалась газета ‘Москвич’, которая была закрыта по распоряжению Валуева без объявления предостережений.¹⁸

Строго цензуровался журнал ‘Дело’, находившийся под предварительной цензурой. Журнал старались ‘подвести к полному исчезновению из области журналистики’.¹⁹ Г. Е. Благодетель жаловался П. Якоби: ‘Из 40 набранных листов пропускают какие-то обрывки на 6 листах, все прочее запрещают.’²⁰ А. Г. Петров писал в записке о журнале ‘Дело’ в 1868 г.:

¹² ЦГИА, ф. 777, оп. 2-1866, д. 86, л. 21-22.

¹³ Собственноручные отметки ... (примечание 8), с. 33.

¹⁴ ЦГИА, ф. 1093, оп. 1, д. 338, л. 44.

¹⁵ (Передовая статья). — Москва, 1867, 30 июня.

¹⁶ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 2, д. 4, л. 160 об.

¹⁷ Москва, 1867, 28 ноября.

¹⁸ Цимбаев Н. И. И. С. Аксаков в общественной жизни пореформенной России. Москва, 1978, с. 149.

¹⁹ Цит. по: Есин Б. И. Русская журналистика 70-х-80-х годов XIX века. Москва, 1963, с. 47-48.

²⁰ Цит. по: Кузнецов Ф. Ф. Журнал ‘Русское слово’. Москва, 1965, с. 392.

‘... ввиду оказавшейся на опыте безуспешности нескольких процессов, возбужденных цензурным ведомством против злоупотреблений печатным словом, единственным надежным оружием остается административное взыскание.’²¹

Неблагонадежных лиц старались отстранить от издательского дела. Так, в октябре 1865 г. Главное управление отклонило прошение Н. А. Степанова и В. С. Курочкина издавать ‘Будильник’ и ‘Искру’ без цензуры;²² а в декабре — Ю. Г. Жуковскому и М. А. Антоновичу было отказано в утверждении их издателями и редакторами газеты ‘Народная летопись’.²³ В отчете Главного управления за 1867 г. говорилось, что инспекторам по надзору за типографиями и книжной торговлей предписывалось по возможности не давать разрешения на открытие типографий неизвестным или слишком молодым людям и женщинам.²⁴

III отделение вело слежку за литераторами. Сохранилась агентурная записка от 20 января 1867 г. с характеристикой секретаря редакции ‘Голоса’ М. А. Загуляева: ‘... совершенный противник власти и существующего порядка ... до такой степени пропитан ненавистью к правительству, что не удерживается от выражения своих чувств даже и в таких случаях, когда он не может быть уверен, что всякая неуместная выходка его не дойдет до правительства.’²⁵ В донесении от 29 декабря 1867 г. содержались сведения о ‘Чрезвычайно вредной’ личности — М. Куколь-Яснопольском: отмечалось, что он был ‘замечен в постоянном и упорном нарушении установленных для содержателей типографий правил, в неисполнении законных требований подлежащих властей, в непрерывных сношениях с подозрительными в политическом отношении личностями и в принятии в свою типографию людей, состоящих на замечании полиции’.²⁶

Для руководства общественным мнением правительство использовало официальную и проправительственную печать. Валуев поощрял систему негласного предварительного цензирования статей. Практиковались переговоры с редакторами периодических изданий о возможности обсуждения в печати различных вопросов. Так, в январе 1868 г. В. А. Долгоруков приглашал к себе для беседы редакторов ‘Московских ведомостей’, ‘Москвича’, ‘Современных известий’, ‘Русского’ и ‘Русских ведомостей’ и просил воздержаться от резких суждений по вопросам

²¹ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 2, д. 5, л. 569 об.

²² Ямпольский И. Г. Из истории сатирической журналистики 1860-х годов: ‘Будильник’ (1865-1871). — Русские революционные демократы. Ленинград, 1952, [т.] 1, с. 320.

²³ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 3, д. 131, л. 1-3.

²⁴ Там же, д. 662, л. 229.

²⁵ ЦГАОР, ф. 109, оп. 1, д. 2023, л. 4-4 об.

²⁶ Там же, д. 1845, л. 4.

восточных и славянских земель, а в сентябре петербургским изданиям рекомендовали не обсуждать положение дел в западных и прибалтийских губерниях.²⁷

Валуев лично сотрудничал с газетой 'Весть'. Он заказывал статьи на определенные темы и иногда принимал участие в их правке.²⁸ В 'Биржевых ведомостях' печатали статьи Министерства финансов. В 1867 г. их издатель К. В. Трубников просил возместить ему расходы в сумме 28.372 рублей 86,5 копеек.²⁹

Желающий пропагандировать правительственные идеи на казенный счет бывший секретный агент III отделения Н. Волокитин в 1866 г. предлагал свои услуги по изданию журнала, который в случае надобности всегда будет готов действовать по указанию III отделения.³⁰ В том же году А. Д. Васильев просил 8 тысяч рублей с рассрочкой уплаты на 15 лет для издания в Петербурге журнала 'Благонамеренный' с целью 'сообщать публике сведения о совершающихся событиях из верных источников, общественные вопросы обсуждать и разъяснять в духе правительственном' и 'остановить безнравственность народа, допущенную правительством'.³¹

Однако теория 'нравственного влияния' на печать, разработанная Валуевым еще в начале 1860-х гг., не имела успеха. Официальная 'Северная почта' так и не смогла стать проводником правительственных интересов. К тому же газета не окупала себя. Из 60 тысяч рублей, которые были отпущены на ее содержание, редакция смогла уплатить только 10 тысяч. В 1866 г. из сумм Министерства внутренних дел было отпущено безвозмездно 3 тысячи рублей, а в 1867 г. заимообразно 2332 рубля 83 копейки. В 1868 г. заем по 'Северной почте' был причислен к числу бессрочных с платежом по 3% в год.³² В отчете Главного управления за 1868-1870 гг. отмечалось, что у правительства не было союзников: 'печать крайне скудна охранительными голосами, которые ... раздаются в виде отдельных мнений ..., не представляя совокупной силы, содействующей систематически правительственным видам и начинаниям.'³³

Деятели книжного дела постоянно боролись за расширение своих прав. Прежде всего, для этого использовались разрешенные методы: обсуждение положений нового закона на страницах периодической печати.

²⁷ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 1, д. 4, л. 1-1 об., 22-22 об.

²⁸ Никитенко А. В. (примечание 7), т. 3, с. 48.

²⁹ ЦГИА, ф. 560, оп. 38, д. 154, л. 71.

³⁰ ЦГАОР, ф. 109, оп. 1, д. 2036, л. 1 об.

³¹ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 3, д. 377, л. 1 об., 4.

³² ЦГИА, ф. 908, оп. 1, д. 303, л. 1 об., 11.

³³ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 4, д. 5, л. 35.

Печать выступала с осуждением основных положений цензурной реформы. Отметим, что критика закона со стороны печати не прекратилась и после серии статей, опубликованных в 'Северной почте' с целью дать нужное направление обсуждению закона.³⁴

В 'Неделе' был опубликован фельетон, в котором говорилось, что новый устав направлен на то, чтобы 'литературная эпидемия прекратилась вместе с холерой'.³⁵

Резкой критике подверглась система административных взысканий. 'Голос' выступил с рядом статей, осуждавших французскую систему предостережений: 'Это право жизни и смерти над журналом, право бесконтрольное, ничем не ограниченное ... право в три дня, без всякого суда, лишить человека его собственности! ... Страннее, анормальнее этого положения трудно придумать!'.³⁶ Было уделено внимание вопросу о денежных залогах для периодических изданий. Так, К. К. Арсеньев считал, что при всех возможных ситуациях по новому закону штраф за его нарушение не может быть более 2300 рублей, а следовательно, сумма залога могла быть значительно снижена. В то же время он показал неэффективность залога, как имущественного ценза для журналистов, т.к. нужную сумму можно было собрать с нескольких лиц.³⁷ Арсеньев высказался также против концессионного порядка основания периодических изданий. Приравнивая издание книги к ремеслу, он подчеркнул, что запрещение заниматься каким-либо ремеслом является ограничением гражданских прав и возможно только в судебном порядке.³⁸

Следует отметить, что возможность для резкой критики закона существовала именно благодаря проведенной реформе. Пореформенное самодержавие уже не могло полностью игнорировать печать.

Для пропаганды своих взглядов деятели печати использовали целый арсенал различных средств, специально изобретенных для борьбы с цензурным надзором. Часто авторы прибегали к 'эзопову языку': особому виду повествования с помощью иносказаний, аллегорий, недомолвок, внедренному в практику и усвоенному читателями. Так, в отчете Петербургского цензурного комитета за 1869 г. отмечалось, что, несмотря на крайнюю строгость цензуры относительно журнала 'Дело', основные идеи, которые хотела высказать редакция, 'сквозили между строк и прикрывались различными литературными приемами, наконец,

³⁴ По поводу новых правил о печати. Северная почта, 1865, 20 апр., 21 апр., 22 апр., 23 апр., 24 апр., 25 апр. и др.

³⁵ Листок 'Недели'. Неделя, 1866, 16 окт.

³⁶ По поводу последних административных мер во Франции относительно печати. — Голос, 1865, 9 окт.

³⁷ Арсеньев К. К. Русские законы о печати. — Вестник Европы, 1869, № 6, с. 739-740.

³⁸ Арсеньев (примечание 37), с. 732, 734.

выражались в самом наборе статей'.³⁹ 'Сведущий обыватель и между строк прочитает, — писал Н. Рубакин, — поищи, пошмыгай по газетным строкам, — на то ты и обыватель! Коли на них нет ничего, — пожалуйста, куда следует, — в пустое пространство между строчек! В этом пустом пространстве ныне русская жизнь и помещается'⁴⁰

По новому закону цензор не имел права делать каких-либо изменений в представленном ему на просмотр тексте. Он мог либо разрешить его целиком, либо наложить арест на весь номер периодического издания или на всю книгу. Но 'сплошь и рядом', по словам В. А. Розенберга, 'по соглашению заинтересованных сторон' 'предосудительные' статьи заменяли более 'нейтральными', переделывали некоторые фразы или убирали несколько страниц.⁴¹ Г. К. Градовский вспоминал, что 'не раз случалось, что цензор, редактор и автор совокупно ломали голову, как бы так выразить и закутать в такие неуловимые формы верную мысль или полезный совет, чтобы не пропала статья, чтоб известное явление не было обойдено молчанием, но чтобы не вышло и какого-нибудь 'недоразумения' или 'нахлобучки' со стороны местной администрации или из Петербурга.'⁴²

Опытные редакторы предупреждали своих сотрудников о запрещенных темах. В ноябре 1866 г. Г. Е. Благодетель писал Якоби: 'Пока давящая сила правительства не ослабнет, пишите серьезные статьи по естественным наукам. Но только не касайтесь религии. Пока это строго запретный плод'⁴³

Редакторы пытались найти себе покровителей в цензурном ведомстве, чтобы обезопасить свой журнал. А. Г. Петров предупреждал редакцию 'Отечественных записок' о докладах их цензора — Н. П. Лебедева.⁴⁴ А в Главном управлении по делам печати журнал 'подстраховывал' Н. А. Ратынский. В воспоминаниях А. М. Скабичевского отмечалось, что за это Н. А. Некрасов 'проигрывал' им в карты 'следующие суммы'.⁴⁵ Известно, что в конце 1860-х гг. член Совета Главного управления по делам печати М. Н. Турунов получил от Н. А. Некрасова 1500 рублей на поездку за границу, а член Совета Ф. П. Еленев, печатавший в

³⁹ ЦГИА, ф. 777, оп. 2 — 1870, д. 28, л. 9.

⁴⁰ Рубакин Н. Читатели между строк: Разговор в вагоне. — В защиту слова: Сборник. Санктпетербург, 1906, с. 38.

⁴¹ Розенберг В. Пресса, цензура и общество. — Розенберг В. А., Якушкин В. Е. Русская печать и цензура в прошлом и настоящем. Москва, 1905, с. 103.

⁴² Градовский Г. К. К истории русской печати: Материалы и заметки. — Русская старина, 1882, № 2, с. 492.

⁴³ Цит. по: Кузнецов Ф. Ф. (примечание 20), с. 393.

⁴⁴ Гаркави А. М. Борьба Н. А. Некрасова с цензурой и проблемы некрасовской текстологии. Автореферат ... д-ра филол. наук. Ленинград, 1965, с. 80.

⁴⁵ Скабичевский А. М. Первое 25-летие моих литературных мытарств. — Исторический вестник, 1910, № 4, с. 43.

‘Отечественных записках’ свои очерки ‘В захолустье и в столице’, получил двойную оплату за листы, а оттиски — даром.⁴⁶

Случалось, что деятели книжного дела шли и на прямое нарушение закона. Так, в рапортах инспектора по надзору за типографиями и книжной торговлей в Москве З. М. Мсерианца постоянно упоминались такие нарушения, как несвоевременное доставление экземпляров изданий в Главное управление по делам печати, производство разносной торговли без дозволения местного полицейского начальства, незаконное открытие литографий, книжных магазинов, продажа книг.⁴⁷

Старший инспектор по надзору за типографиями и книжной торговлей в Петербурге генерал-майор Чебыкин докладывал, что в некоторых случаях напечатанные книги не заносятся в книгу заказов. Это было в типографиях М. О. Вольфа, Михеева и литографии Брандта. Из типографии А. Куколь-Яснопольского многие издания доставлялись несвоевременно в Главное управление по делам печати, а типография О. И. Бакста вообще не представила сочинение А. Рохау ‘История Франции’ (в переводе М. А. Антоновича и А. Н. Пыпина). На литографированных лекциях имя и место жительства литографа иногда надписывалось чернилами да еще часто на отдельных ‘клочках бумаги’ (скорей всего, весь остальной тираж поступал в продажу без этой отметки). В словолитне Ревильона была замечена незаконная продажа шрифта. В типографии В. И. Головина нашли две корректуры арестованной книги Н. В. Соколова ‘Отщепенцы’ и отдельные оттиски на листах бумаги.⁴⁸ В декабре 1866 г. О. И. Бакст был приговорен к трехдневному аресту и денежному штрафу за нарушение правил о содержании типографий.⁴⁹ При обыске в книжном магазине А. Ф. Черенина было найдено несколько книжек четвертого номера журнала ‘Время’, который был запрещен к продаже в 1863 г.⁵⁰

Книги, подлежащие просмотру предварительной цензуры, печатали без такого разрешения. Так было в типографиях А. Куколь-Яснопольского, Грачева, Иловайского, Тиблена и К^о, А. И. Моригеровского.⁵¹ В Москве в типографии Шумана книга ‘Нет не тайн, ни секретов’ была напечатана без цензуры, как имеющая объем 10 листов. Однако,

⁴⁶ Папковский Б., Макашин С. Некрасов и литературная политика самодержавия: К истории журнала ‘Отечественные записки’. — Литературное наследство, 1946, т. 49-50, ч. 1, с. 477-478.

⁴⁷ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 3, д. 595, л. 17, 26, 27, 31, 35; ф. 777, оп. 3, д. 868, л. 10, 16, 29.

⁴⁸ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 3, д. 605, л. 2-4, 8, 9, 12, 17, 310.

⁴⁹ Ленинградский государственный исторический архив (далее ЛГИА), ф. 487, оп. 1, д. 119, л. 4-4 об., 10.

⁵⁰ ЦГИА, ф. 776, оп. 3, д. 596, л. 27.

⁵¹ Там же, д. 605, л. 320; д. 252, л. 12; ф. 777, оп. 2 — 1866, д. 54, л. 23; ЛГИА, ф. 487, оп. 1, д. 672, л. 1-4, д. 1023, л. 1-1 об.

после проверки оказалось, что ее объем меньше заявленного.⁵²

Вопреки закону, сочинения, печатаемые в Петербурге без предварительной цензуры, выпускались из типографии в переплетные заведения до истечения установленного срока: почти во всех книжных магазинах и лавках не велись каталоги обращающимся в торговле сочинениям.⁵³ В книжном магазине В. Яковлева, существовавшем без установленного дозволения на право книжной торговли, была открыта продажа некоторых сочинений, отпечатанных без предварительной цензуры и имеющих менее 10 печатных листов, а также не были указаны адреса типографий, в которых они печатались.⁵⁴



В конечном итоге положение печати в стране определялось в основном не содержанием действующего закона, а той внутривполитической обстановкой, в условиях которой этот закон применялся.

Правительство в своей политике в отношении печати использовало различные средства. Для установления контроля над общественным мнением чаще всего применялись наиболее эффективные репрессивные меры на основе действовавшего законодательства. Иногда администрация шла на нарушение юридических норм. Вместе с тем предпринимались попытки воздействовать на печать с помощью официальной и правительственной прессы. Наконец, власти шли на пересмотр действовавшего законодательства.

Оппозиционная печать, в свою очередь, для борьбы с цензурой использовала, наряду с выступлениями, содержащими требования пересмотра устава о печати, прямое нарушение цензурных законов, а также различные приемы и уловки, дающие возможность обойти закон.

Соотношением силы правительства и общественного движения и определялось положение печати в стране. Печать была свободна настолько, насколько правительство могло ее сдерживать. При действии устава 6 апреля 1865 г., который вместе с законами, принятыми во второй половине XIX в., юридически определял положение печати в течение сорока лет, в периоды наибольшей активности общественного движения цензурный гнет ослабевал, а во время реакции печать ставилась в тяжелые условия.

⁵² Центральный государственный исторический архив в Москве, ф. 212, оп. 1, д. 23, л. 9.

⁵³ Государственная Публичная библиотека им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина. Отдел рукописей, ф. 831, д. 20, л. 29 об., 31.

⁵⁴ Там же, л. 34-34 об.

Censorship under Gorbachev *

Marianna Tax Choldin

This paper reviews the state of censorship under Gorbachev; I shall also speculate a little on prospects for the future. Elsewhere I describe the censorship situation in imperial Russia and in the Soviet Union before Gorbachev, and I want to stress here the importance of the historical context: in considering censorship, as in so many other areas of Soviet culture and society, the past is extremely helpful in understanding the present.¹

I certainly share with Soviet colleagues a sense of elation and relief as we see good things happening in libraries, archives, publishing, the media, and cultural institutions in general. The official acknowledgment that there has indeed been censorship in the Soviet Union is a big step in the right direction, and I am hopeful that the authorities will continue what has been begun. But it is not clear to me what exactly has been accomplished. Looking at the last few years, I see both hopeful and discouraging signs; I see a great deal of ambivalence and many mixed signals; and I sense a reluctance, or an inability, or perhaps both, to acknowledge the true breadth and depth of Soviet censorship.

On the hopeful side, we begin, of course, with the acknowledgment of the existence of censorship itself and open discussion of its operations. The organization known as Glavlit, the Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press (the pre-revolutionary censorship agency had the same nickname!), oversees part of what we in the West consider censorship; but Soviet officials always denied that Glavlit was involved in censorship, claiming that its function was simply to see that state and military secrets were not divulged.² (Now we read and hear that Glavlit's function *is* censorship, pure and simple, and that in fact this is the only kind of censorship practiced in the Soviet Union. I shall return to this curiously narrow understanding of censorship.) There is even open discussion about

* An abridged version of Professor Choldin's Harrogate presentation, updated in November 1990.

¹ See Marianna Tax Choldin, *A Fence Around the Empire: Russian Censorship of Western Ideas Under the Tsars* (Durham, NC, Duke University Press, 1985); Choldin, 'Books, Reading, and Censorship in the Soviet Union' (a lecture delivered at the Library of Congress on 23 May 1990, to be published by the Library of Congress); Choldin, 'Foreign Publications in Soviet Libraries from Lenin to Gorbachev', *Libraries and Culture*, spring 1991 issue (at press); and Choldin, 'Restrictions and Access' (paper prepared for a conference at the Lenin Library, Moscow, 28-30 January 1991, to be published in conference proceedings by the Library of Congress).

² See Amy Knight, 'State and Official Secrets in the Soviet Union', *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin* RL 113/88, 16 March 1988.

the censors' 'rule book' (jokingly known as the 'Talmud'), the existence of which was always flatly denied, even though everyone knew it existed.³ There have been interviews with Glavlit censors,⁴ and calls in the press for the lifting of those 'temporary' restrictions on the press imposed by Lenin so many years ago.⁵ Now Glavlit has a new name (Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Mass Media), and has been instructed to function as a consultative organ, helping editors and publishers to identify state secrets.⁶

Last summer, in an interview published in *Argumenty i fakty*,⁷ Mr B. Skorokhodov, chairman of Glavlit's Department for Control over Foreign Literature, enumerated the concerns of his department. Reading this official view is a novel and enlightening experience, although his statement certainly does not answer all questions. Here is the essence of Skorokhodov's remarks (the translation is my own):

Let us clarify matters. Glavlit is charged by the Soviet government with control over printed and audiovisual materials entering the USSR from abroad sent by mail. This must be qualified: we check far from all materials sent by mail, but rather, only a portion of them. Thus, the following materials are completely free from control and are sent to the addressees without hindrance: materials published in socialist and developing countries, publications of Communist and workers' parties of all countries, materials published by the United Nations and other international organizations of which the USSR is a member, all publications of a scientific-technical and scientific-popular character, official documentation, materials dealing with fine arts, theater, ballet, cinema, music, sport, publications of an encyclopedic and reference character, magazines dealing with fashion, registered parcels, catalogues, and a few other types of printed matter.

³ Chakovskii, then editor of *Literaturnaia gazeta*, said in an interview in Washington in fall 1988 that Glavlit still had a censor posted inside his editorial office, and that the 'Talmud' was still there, but that he did not pay much attention to it; that the 'Talmud' was limited mainly to regulations concerning military secrets. He did not know if the book had grown any thinner under Gorbachev. (SOVSET' message 1683, 8 October 1988, from Harley Balzer.) See also Aaron Trehub, '“Whom Does Silence Benefit?”: A Member of Novyi Mir's Editorial Board Speaks Out', *RL* 321/87, 4 August 1987, pp. 6–7.

⁴ See 'How Soviet Censorship Is Easing Up', *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 30 November 1988, pp. 1–6; 'Glavlit Official Interviewed on Censorship Trends', *Foreign Broadcast Information Service Daily Report*, 11 January 1989, pp. 73–77; Bill Keller, 'The Life of a Soviet Censor: Anything Goes? Not Just Yet' *New York Times*, 18 July 1989, p. 1.

⁵ Writing in *Moscow News* (October 23), the lawyer Mikhail Fedotov urged that preliminary censorship in the USSR be abolished; he referred to Lenin's temporary 'administrative restrictions' decree and urged that the restrictions finally be lifted, as promised (Julia Wishnevsky, 'Censorship in these Days of Glasnost', *RL* 495/88, 3 November 1988, p. 1).

⁶ See Vera Tolz, 'The Impact of the New Press Law: A Preliminary Assessment', *RFE/RL Report on the USSR*, vol. 2, no. 45, 9 November 1990, p. 5.

⁷ *Argumenty i fakty*, no. 27, 8–14 July 1989, p. 8.

Of the magazines subjected to inspection, we detain or withdraw from circulation only materials banned for distribution or mailing under the laws of the USSR or under international agreements. Article 36 of the International Postal Convention, accepted by those countries that are members of the International Postal Union, including the USSR, consists of a list of materials and objects, the mailing of which is forbidden. This is 'objects of an indecent or immoral character, the importing or circulation of which is banned in the country of destination'. I must add that if an object is withdrawn, it is required that a stamp be affixed to the cover of the package with notification of the withdrawal, as well as the personal code number of the Glavlit employee, who takes personal responsibility for the detaining action.

We detain only materials aimed at undermining the Soviet state and social order, the destruction of territorial integrity and political independence, state sovereignty, advocating war, terrorism, force, racism and its varieties. Banned in addition are materials consisting of practical instructions for preparation and use of firearms, explosive devices, narcotics, materials of a pornographic nature. On the average, in a month only about 20–30 publications are restricted for distribution, out of the tens of thousands received.

Skorokhodov goes on to talk about harmless foreign newspapers and magazines received for retail sale, about Soviet emigré authors and publishers—'Our office does not have any lists of authors or publishers deliberately banned for distribution'—and personal correspondence, maintaining that Glavlit does not inspect letters, although it would certainly be permissible under article 37 of the International Postal Convention. Answering the complaint that things sit too long at Glavlit, he states that all packages received by air mail, and newspapers however received, are handled by Glavlit on the day of receipt except for Sundays and holidays. 'Apparently the problem is that mail from some countries is extremely slow.'⁸

There continues to be public discussion about the rewriting of Soviet history practised over the years. Some works by Western scholars, especially historians writing on early Soviet history, are being translated and published in Soviet journals and as separate books. (Several of these colleagues

⁸ In my book *A Fence Around the Empire* I describe the offices and procedures of the Foreign Censorship Committee in St Petersburg; reading Skorokhodov's description of Glavlit, I felt an uncanny familiarity with the scene! An interview with Glavlit head V. A. Boldyrev published in *Izvestiia* on July 26 (p. 2) makes it clear that, at least as far as Boldyrev is concerned, inspection of foreign publications entering the country will continue indefinitely. He refers to the same kinds of materials mentioned by Skorokhodov: those advocating war, violence, racial hatred, and the overthrow of the Soviet system. (See also 'Censorship Abolished But Glavlit Remains', *RL Daily Report*, 27 July 1990, p. 7.)

discussed their experiences in a round table held at the AAASS convention in Washington in October 1990.)⁹

The *spetskhrany*, or 'special collections', in libraries are being opened throughout the country, and there is public discussion about the periodic 'purges' of library shelves to remove works that had been declared unacceptable at various times. Exhibits of publications from the *spetskhran* are regular features in many libraries these days. I have been assured that at the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature all users, Soviet and foreign, may now have access to anything in the collection; that the *spetskhran* has been liquidated and its contents transferred to the book stacks; and that the rooms formerly occupied by the *spetskhran* have been designated as a reading area for children. (The task of absorbing records of publications formerly housed in *spetskhrany* into open catalogues and finding space for the items themselves on the shelves is a truly daunting one!) The difficulty of accessing archival collections is also being discussed.¹⁰

There is public discussion (and complaining) about the shortage of copies in libraries and bookstores of publications people actually want to read, domestic and foreign; and about the difficulties of obtaining copies of Soviet newspapers and magazines—publications no one cared about a few years ago because they were so dull, but much in demand now.¹¹ Studies continually

⁹ Among many other articles on the rewriting of history, see Vera Tolz and Gabriel Superfin, 'Censorship of Lenin in the USSR', *RL* 328/88, 20 July 1988; S. A. Efirov, '“Belye piatna”: voobrazhaemyi dialog o predelakh glasnosti', *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, 1988, no. 6 (November–December), pp. 71–82; Vera Tolz, 'Reassessing Soviet History', *Radio Liberty Report on the USSR*, 29 December 1989, pp. 10–12; 'Filling In Another Black Spot in Soviet History', *RFE/RL Daily Report*, 18 June 1990, p. 7; and 'Vekhi To Be Published In Moscow' *RL Daily Report*, 5 July 1990, p. 19 (SOVSET' version).

¹⁰ The source of information on the *spetskhran* at the 'Inostranka' is the deputy director of the Library. Issues since 1988 of librarianship journals *Bibliotekar'* and *Sovetskaia bibliografiia* contain numerous articles mentioning—or devoted entirely to—the *spetskhran* phenomenon. Items also appear from time to time in the non-library press; see, for example, Il'ia Rabover, 'Kak ia iskal knigu rekordov', *Moskovskie novosti*, 20 March 1988. This article is summarized in English in Dennis Kimmage, 'Glasnost in Soviet Libraries; Part One of Two: Open Stacks in a Closed Society', *American Libraries*, July/August 1988, p. 572. On archives, see 'Freer Access to Soviet Archives?' *RL* 442/87, 4 November 1987; Vera Tolz, 'Poor Storage of Books and Inaccessibility of Archives Discussed in Soviet Press', *RL* 180/88, 28 April 1988; 'Public Discussion of Archives Law Urged', *RL Daily Report*, 26 February 1990, p. 12 (SOVSET' ve version); 'Archive Workers Go On Strike', *RL Daily Report*, 9 March 1990, p. 3 (SOVSET' ve version); and Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Perestroika in Soviet Archives? Glasnost, Archival Reform and Researcher Access', in this issue of *Solanus*.

¹¹ An excellent review of major Soviet Russian-language journals and magazines is provided by Julia Wishnevsky, 'A Guide to Some Major Soviet Journals', *RL Supplement* 2/88, 20 July 1988. Two very helpful summaries of developments in glasnost and the Soviet press in 1988 and 1989 should also be noted, both by Vera Tolz: 'The Development of Glasnost' in 1988', *RL Report on the USSR*, 3 February 1989, pp. 7–10; and 'The Soviet Press', *RL Report on the USSR*, 29 December 1989, pp. 12–14. For a very informative discussion of censorship in Uzbekistan in 1988, see William Fierman, 'Glasnost' in Practice: The Uzbek Experience', *Central Asian Survey* 8, no. 2 (1989), pp. 1–45.

reveal what the Soviets call *knizhnyi golod*, book hunger, an insatiable demand for reading matter unsatisfied by the overwhelming mass of Soviet publications: great quantities of tendentious literature, mediocre fiction, and endless editions of the collected works of Soviet leaders, while the great Russian classics and works of the better Soviet writers are extremely difficult to get. Western publications of all kinds, as well as films, are especially popular and hard to obtain, a cause of great frustration.¹²

Selected works of some excellent Russian writers who are no longer living—both emigrés such as Nabokov and Soviet writers formerly out of favor, such as Gumilev—are now being published in the Soviet Union; and some living emigrés—Brodskii, Solzhenitsyn—are also being published. Even our colleague Maurice Friedberg, until recently castigated in the Soviet press as an arch-enemy, is mentioned in a 1988 issue of *Literaturnoe obozrenie* as ‘one of the leading American specialists on Russian literature’!¹³ ‘Rehabilitated’ foreign writers include George Orwell,¹⁴ James Joyce¹⁵ and Lillian Hellman. A review in *Sovremennaia khudozhestvennaia literatura za rubezhom* of Hellman’s memoir *Scoundrel Time* is followed by an editor’s note explaining that the review had been written and was ready for publication in 1978 but had had to be withdrawn, ‘a not unexpected occurrence during that sad time in the social and cultural life of our country’. Unfortunately, Hellman died before this could be rectified; the editor explains that the journal is now ‘fulfilling its obligation to the memory of the famous American writer and to its readers’.¹⁶ (I do not know whether there has been any

¹² Recent Western works on reading include Jenny Brine, ‘The Soviet Reader, the Book Shortage and the Public Library’, *Solanus*, vol. 2, 1988, pp. 39–57; John and Carol Garrard, ‘Soviet Book Hunger’, *Problems of Communism*, September–October 1985, pp. 72–81; Gregory Walker, ‘Readerships in the USSR: Some Evidence from Post-War Studies’, *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 19 (1986), pp. 158–73; Amy Corning, ‘Problems in the Soviet Book Publishing Industry’, *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin, RL Supplement*, 3/88, 8 August 1988; and John Garrard and Amy Corning, ‘The Soviet Reader: New Data from the Soviet Interview Project’, *Solanus*, vol. 2, 1988, pp. 3–38. Three items by emigrés are Igor Pomeranzen, ‘The Right to Read’, *Partisan Review*, 49, no. 1 (1982); David Gurevich, ‘Moscow Days: Liberated by Harold Robbins’, *New York Times Book Review*, 11 March 1990, p. 1; and Cathy Young, ‘Once Upon a Time in Russia ...’, *Washington Post Book World*, 13 May 1990, p. 1.

¹³ See A. Beliaev, ‘Gospodin Nozdrev iz Illinoisa’, *Znamia*, 1982, no. 2, pp. 221–32; the revised opinion is in L. Anninskii, ‘Leskov-publitsist’, *Literaturnoe obozrenie*, 1988, no. 8, p. 45.

¹⁴ Julia Wishnevsky, ‘The Significance of Animal Farm’, *RL* 440/88, 26 September 1988; and Julia Wishnevsky, ‘More Banned Works to Be Published in the Soviet Union’, *RL* 453/88, 3 October 1988.

¹⁵ The first issue of *Inostrannaia literatura* for 1990 (pp. 172–92) includes a very interesting discussion (in which an American and an Israeli scholar also participated) of the Russian edition of James Joyce’s *Ulysses*; for other items on *Ulysses* see the bibliography in *The Red Pencil: Artists, Scholars, and Censors in the USSR*, edited by Marianna Tax Choldin and Maurice Friedberg (London, Boston, Unwin-Hyman, 1989).

¹⁶ *Sovremennaia khudozhestvennaia literatura za rubezhom*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 89–92.

Soviet recognition of the controversy surrounding Hellman's memoirs, involving plagiarism charges.)

On 27 September 1988, the American Book Center opened in Moscow, a combined effort of several big American publishers with support from the United States Information Agency. At this time, the Center accepts only hard currency and is inconveniently located, but efforts are underway to resolve these problems and make the Center more accessible to more people. The latest news is that the Center is scheduled to close on 31 March 1991, to be replaced by a private enterprise.¹⁷ (Of course, the giant problem to be resolved is the currency issue, and this matter must be handled on the highest levels.)

Many joint publishing ventures are underway, and a few will succeed; some have resulted, or will result, in products available for rubles. The scale is still very small, however, and most imported publications still seem to be available only for hard currency. A few examples: in January 1989 it was announced that 350 copies of *The Guardian* and 400 copies each of the *Financial Times* and the *International Herald Tribune* would be available at foreign news kiosks in major cities; the report included *Time* and *Newsweek* but did not mention the number of copies.¹⁸ In the Skorokhodov interview mentioned earlier, he made reference to some Western newspapers on open sale in the country, mentioning 1,000 copies of each issue of *The Times*, 600 copies of the *International Herald Tribune*, and 600 copies of *Die Zeit*.¹⁹ However, until recently I had heard of only one new joint venture making publications available for rubles, and even that involves only leftover copies

¹⁷ George W. Slowik Jr., 'Fourth U.S.-Soviet Book Talks "Most Productive" Yet', *Publishers' Weekly*, 23 November 1990, p. 10.

¹⁸ 'Some Western Newspapers on Sale in USSR', *RL Report on the USSR*, 6 January 1989, p. 27. See also Walter Sullivan, 'Science Magazines From US Thrive in Soviet and China', *New York Times*, 19 February 1985, p. 17; Charles Preston, 'My Paper Chase in Moscow', *Wall Street Journal*, 13 September 1985; 'PC World USSR Hits Soviet Newsstands', *Surviving Together*, Summer 1988, p. 61; 'USA Today in USSR', *New York Times*, 24 July 1989, p. 27; 'Soviet Citizens To Get Western Journals and TV Programs', *RL Report on the USSR*, 15 December 1989, p. 37; '250,000 Readers of a College Mag?', *Surviving Together*, Fall/Winter 1989, p. 71; 'USA Today in Moscow', *Surviving Together*, Fall/Winter 1989, p. 69; 'Business Week To the USSR', *RL Daily Report*, 23 February 1990, p. 13 (SOVSET version).

¹⁹ See Skorokhodov interview (note 7). I was a member of the American delegation to the third US-USSR Information Talks held in Washington in late February 1990; one of the group's recommendations was to increase the numbers of publications like these. On American magazines and the Soviet market see Deirdre Carmody, 'US Magazines, Seeking Readers, Hear Moscow Calling', *New York Times*, 11 June 1990, p. C8. 'Soviet Information Policy to Change', *Surviving Together*, Spring 1990, p. 56, summarizes Soviet discussion of proposed changes in policy regarding sale of foreign periodicals, use of copying machines, and reception of foreign satellite TV programmes. On the new climate in publishing from the American point of view, see Roger Rosen, 'Perestroika in Soviet Georgia', *Publishers Weekly*, 18 May 1990, pp. 30-34; and Lynn C. Franklin, 'Back to Moscow', *Publishers Weekly*, 18 May 1990, pp. 34-35.

of *USA Today* not sold for *valiuta* on any given day.²⁰ I understand that the Faxon Company, based in Boston, is now offering Soviet libraries a subscription service for Western publications (for rubles or hard currency). Apparently Faxon, by arrangement with publishers, has already begun to offer libraries its 'Glasnost Express' service, selling copies of some of the most popular American magazines through Moscow University (for rubles).

Finally, the passage of the press law in June 1990, after years of delay, is a milestone, and despite problems in implementation (discussed below) this development must be seen as a positive one.²¹

Along with these hopeful signs have come some discouraging ones, among them the ever-present paper shortage with its implications for control of the press. Consider, for example, the announcement in fall 1988 that, due to the shortage of paper, limits would be placed on subscriptions to a number of newspapers and magazines, including some very popular and controversial ones. In the face of strong reaction no action was taken, but I find it disheartening that the 'paper shortage' should have been invoked in this way. There almost certainly is a genuine paper shortage in the Soviet Union,²² but when I put the fact of that shortage together with the number of publications no one wants to buy or read that fill bookstores and libraries, I can only conclude that it is really a question of priorities as well as outright desire on the part of the authorities to stifle inconveniently dissonant voices. As long as there is plenty of paper to print unpopular items, invoking the 'paper shortage' as a reason for not printing popular items must be viewed as disguised censorship.²³

In winter 1989 numerous attacks on the Communist Party and criticisms of Gorbachev appeared in the press; throughout the following spring and summer there were numerous reports of tightening controls on the press and crackdowns on the distribution of 'illegal' literature. A distressing incident occurred in June 1989, when the editor of the unofficial journal *Ekspress-khronika* tested the policy of the recently opened British-Soviet Rank Xerox copy shop and tried to have his publication xeroxed, following the rules by paying with hard currency; after one issue the management backed off and

²⁰ An advertisement appeared in several American newspapers in February 1990 inviting subscribers to *The Literary Gazette*, a joint venture English-language edition of *Literaturnaia gazeta*. I was astonished to see this publication described as 'Russia's only uncensored newspaper'—clearly a case of advertising hyperbole! (*Washington Post*, 27 February 1990, p. A-15.)

²¹ 'O pechati i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii', *Vedomosti S'ezda narodnykh deputatov SSSR i Verkhovnogo soveta SSSR*, 1990, no. 26, item 492, pp. 690–700; 'O vvedenii v deistvie Zakona SSSR "O pechati i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii"', *Vedomosti S'ezda narodnykh deputatov SSSR i Verkhovnogo soveta SSSR*, 1990, no. 26, item 493, p. 701.

²² See Brenton M. Barr and Kathleen E. Braden, *The Disappearing Russian Forest: Dilemmas in Soviet Resource Management* (Totowa, New Jersey, Rowman & Littlefield, 1988).

²³ See, for example, John and Carol Garrard, 'Soviet Book Hunger' (note 12), pp. 72–81.

cancelled the contract, supported by the British Rank Xerox officials. (I am sure the editor was not surprised when the test failed.)²⁴

In July 1989 Vadim Medvedev, ideology chief, said the Party needed to reassert greater control over the press; Moscow city Party leader Lev Zaikov added that the press was full of the 'propaganda of Western values'; and Egor Ligachev said the reassessments of Soviet history were hurting the Party and lowering morale. In August more critical, uncomplimentary, and pessimistic views of Gorbachev appeared in the press; by October Gorbachev apparently felt it necessary to respond, castigating editors for 'irresponsible' and 'inflammatory' statements and articles that could endanger the reforms. The Party chastised Starkov, editor of the immensely popular *Argumenty i fakty*, ostensibly over publication of the results of a reader survey casting doubts on Gorbachev's popularity. Note, however, that at the same time the conservative editor of *Pravda*, Viktor Afanas'ev, was replaced by Gorbachev advisor Ivan Frolov: the balance is always shifting.

Under the new press law independent publications are legal if registered, and many formerly samizdat publications are now legal. Periodicals also have the right to decide who their 'founder' is—that is, to whom they belong—and all of this results in struggles between Party and government agencies striving to maintain control and the independent press.²⁵ The struggle for control of the media continues unabated.

Finally, returning to the treatment of foreign publications, I was disappointed to find a very recent example of what I call 'censorship by omission', one of the ways in which translation has been used to alter the texts of foreign works. The book is a 1989 translation of a work by the Irish scholar Patrick O'Meara, a political biography of the poet K. F. Ryleev, who took part in the abortive Decembrist uprising of 1825. A paragraph in the original begins: 'One negative though clearly inevitable result of the domination of the historiography of the Decembrist movement by Soviet specialists is that the historical record has sometimes been obscured by the ideological polemic waged over questions of its correct interpretation.' The Russian rendering of this sentence in the Soviet translation is fine except for omission of the word 'negative'! There is a perfectly good Russian word for 'negative': why was it not included? The sentence in Russian does not convey the author's full meaning. This practice of putting words in the mouths of foreign authors—or, as in this case, taking words out of their mouths—in order to make the

²⁴ *Express Chronicle* editorial, 26 November 1989 (Translation of *Ekspress-khronika*). I have the SOVSET' version, paged separately. On the state of the 'official' and 'unofficial' press, see another editorial by *Ekspress-khronika* editor Aleksandr Podrabinek, 'Est' li budushchee u sovetskoi pressy?' (6 February 1990 issue).

²⁵ See Vera Tolz, 'The Impact of the New Press Law: A Preliminary Assessment' *RFE/RL Report on the USSR*, vol. 2, no. 45, 9 November 1990.

Soviet Union look better or the West look worse, was common before Gorbachev, even after 1973, when the Soviet Union acceded to the International Copyright Convention. I had hoped to see an end to it now, and hope it will not persist into the 1990s.²⁶

As this sketchy review indicates, one can point to both hopeful and discouraging signs, often occurring simultaneously. Soviet leaders seem to be deeply ambivalent about glasnost in the press. In a speech of 8 January 1988, Gorbachev said the Party expects the Soviet media to focus on the implementation of economic reforms instead of concentrating on socio-political or historical issues, as had been the case in 1987. Glasnost in the press has no limits if it is serving 'the interests of socialism'.²⁷ Gorbachev made this point again in September 1988, when he chastised editors for failing to use their publications to support his policies. 'We need a pluralism of opinion', he said, but cautioned against challenges to the value of socialism.²⁸ On the other hand, there have been significant public challenges to official statements and positions, published in one or another newspaper and offered orally in public meetings, and these challenges have come from very visible people as well as from ordinary citizens. Such expressions of opinion are being permitted, yet at the same time unofficial publications are being confiscated routinely.²⁹ And a bill was passed on 21 May making

²⁶ Patrick O'Meara, *K. F. Ryleev: A Political Biography of the Decembrist Poet* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 4 and his *K. F. Ryleev: Politicheskaiia biografiia poeta-dekabrista* (Moscow, Progress, 1989), pp. 26–27. Contracts for the sale of translation rights include an article stating that the translation shall be full and accurate. I discuss this more fully in 'Good Business, Bad Business, No Business: Selling Western Books to the Soviets', in *Books, Libraries and Information in Slavic and East European Studies: Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Slavic Librarians and Information Specialists*, edited by Marianna Tax Choldin (New York, Russica, 1986), pp. 254–71.

²⁷ 'Gorbachev Tells Soviet Journalists to Focus on Economic Aspects of Reform', *Soviet/East European Report*, RFE/RL 5, no. 14.

²⁸ Philip Taubman, 'Soviet Chief Says Drive for Change Is Being Undercut', *New York Times*, 26 September 1988, p. 1; Philip Taubman, 'Moscow Drops Unwanted News on Soviet Press', *New York Times*, 27 September 1988, p. 2.

²⁹ See, for example, 'Using Postal Costs To Control Independent Journals', *RL Daily Report*, 30 April 1990, p. 7 (SOVSET' version); and incidents reported in almost every issue of *Ekspress-khronika*. For instance, in the issue of 15 May there is a report from Leningrad on the arrest of Nina Lobneva 'for distributing the "Freedom of Thought" press bulletin by independent journalists. The police confiscated 237 copies of the bulletin' (p. 2; SOVSET' version). The same issue reports: 'On May 11 members of the society "Krishna Awareness" were beaten by police in Kiev while distributing religious literature. All of the literature was confiscated' (p. 5; SOVSET' version). The first issue in May told of the confiscation of 'five copies of a translation into Russian of an article ("Who Is She?") from *Time* magazine about Raisa Gorbachev' (*Express Chronicle*, 2 May 1990, p. 3; SOVSET' version). At this writing (beginning of August) the *Radio Liberty Daily Report* and the *Express Chronicle* continue to report such incidents regularly.

it a crime to insult the Soviet president, surely a curb on freedom of expression.³⁰

Let us take stock: has glasnost brought about the end of Soviet censorship? In fall 1988 a Soviet journalist assured me that there is absolutely no more censorship, and I have heard and read the same assurance from prominent writers and intellectuals. I cannot agree. Certainly it is true that enormously significant changes have taken place, but before we can say there is no more censorship, it seems to me that several more very important changes will have to take place. The periodical press—magazines and newspapers, and radio and television too—will have to be permitted to express the full range of views on any subject without censure from above. Books on all conceivable topics—written by living authors, not just dead ones!—will have to be free to be published by all sorts of presses within the Soviet Union; the distinction between ‘legal’ and ‘illegal’ publishing will have to disappear. Soviet readers will have to have broad access to all the works of living Soviet emigrés, and to the full range of foreign authors as well, including both originals and full, accurate translations of works that until now they have been able to read only in often heavily censored or abridged editions, or not at all.³¹ The American Book Center and other such undertakings will have to thrive and be duplicated in other cities, and foreign books, magazines, and newspapers will have to be widely available for purchase by individuals as well as by libraries, and *for rubles*. Unless these kinds of conditions prevail, I cannot say that there is no more censorship, as I define that term, in the Soviet Union.

How *does* one define censorship and censors in the Soviet context? The tsarist censor in general played a *reactive* role, while the Soviet censor has had to be not only reactive, but *active* as well, deleting ‘harmful’ material and also translating, editing, amending, and rewriting to make the product acceptable. The imperial Russian censor and the censorship he practised are easy to describe; and compared to the Soviet variety they are also relatively easy to remove from society. It is much harder to define the Soviet censor, since both he and his job have only in the last few months been acknowledged

³⁰ See ‘Bill On Presidential Slander Gets Mixed Reception’, *RL Daily Report*, 14 May 1990, p. 3 (SOVSET version); ‘Presidential Slander Bill Approved’, *RL Daily Report*, 15 May 1990, p. 4 (SOVSET version); Celestine Bohlen, ‘Insulting Gorbachev Now Illegal, But It Depends on the Tone’, *New York Times*, 22 May 1990, p. A10; ‘Three Arrested for Distributing Anti-Gorbachev Leaflets’, *RL Daily Report*, July 6, 1990, p. 5.

³¹ For example, Nobel laureates Saul Bellow and Isaac Bashevis Singer have been in the ‘banned absolutely’ category. An official of the State Committee on Publishing with whom I was on a panel in Washington in late September 1988 told me after I mentioned these two names that he knew about Bellow, but had never heard of Singer! A first taste of Singer has now been published in *Inostrannaia literatura* and Bellow is also promised. The Soviet edition of a collection of essays by Freud was printed but not released immediately (Francis X. Clines, ‘Moscow Represses Freud’s Slip into Print’, *New York Times*, 2 May 1989, p. 1); it was released eventually.

officially to exist. It is precisely this unacknowledged, unofficial status that obscures the picture: practically everyone involved in publishing, the press, the theater and cinema, radio and television, and other cultural institutions has had to function as a censor in one way or another. Authors have had to understand not only what they *may not* write, but also what they *must* write if they wish to be published: they have been subject to a degree and kind of self-censorship undreamed of in tsarist times. Censorship simply permeates the entire system. I find I am no longer even comfortable using the word 'censorship' to describe this phenomenon, because it fails to convey a broad enough meaning; perhaps we need a new term—for lack of a better one, let me suggest *omnicensorship*—to describe this condition of all-pervasive state control.³²

Getting rid of omnicensorship must involve, it seems to me, a complex and extremely painful process that has to take place on both the societal and individual levels. Soviet citizens have never experienced a society in which freedom of expression prevails, where the state does not wield the kind of control described earlier; nor does such a society exist in their historical memory. I think it must be difficult for someone raised in the Soviet Union even to comprehend the full extent of the change that is needed. For instance, I mentioned earlier the curiously narrow definition of censorship that includes only the functions of Glavlit: I have heard and read Soviets suggest that to limit Glavlit's role and move responsibility for the press down from the highest levels to the editors and publishers is to do away with censorship.³³ But I am inclined to think that an entirely new set of structures

³² Censorship in the Soviet period is described in two books published on the basis of conferences: *The Soviet Censorship*, edited by Martin Dewhurst and Robert Farrell (Metuchen, NJ, Scarecrow Press, 1973) and *The Red Pencil*, edited by Choldin and Friedberg. I am, of course, not the only scholar to note this phenomenon I call 'omnicensorship'. For instance, John and Carol Garrard discuss it in 'The Organizational Weapon: Russian Literature and the Union of Soviet Writers', *Soviet Interview Project, Working Paper*, #17, April 1986 and, at greater length, in their book *Inside the Soviet Writers' Union* (New York, The Free Press, 1990); and it is also a focus of Abraham Brumberg's recent article 'The Turning Point?', *New York Review of Books*, 28 June 1990, pp. 52–59; see especially pp. 56–58.

³³ This view seems to be held by several highly placed reformers interviewed by Stephen Cohen and Katrina vanden Heuvel for their recent book, *Voices of Glasnost* (New York, Norton, 1989). For example, Aleksandr Iakovlev defines 'censorship' in a very specific and narrow sense, as the Glavlit function of protecting military and state secrets; he says it was not 'censorship' that was responsible for banning books and films but, rather, individual editors or others, using 'censorship' as an excuse (*Voices of Glasnost*, pp. 42–47). In a piece called 'Zigzags of Glasnost' and Soviet Television' (*RL Report on the USSR*, 31 March 1989, pp. 12–17), Viktor Yasmann observes that editors of leading Soviet newspapers say that 'the old form of censorship based on ideological criteria no longer exists; today, the censors of Glavlit, who are assigned to all Soviet publications, are concerned primarily with state and military secrets rather than ideological dogma ... Today, Party ideologists prefer to talk not about "Party guidance", but "Party influence on the mass media"; in other words, the Party's political dominance is achieved through devoted supporters rather than rigid institutionalized controls.'

and way of thinking is required, predicated on clearly stated and universally accepted principles of free expression and buttressed by the rule of law.

A recent issue of *Index on Censorship* has a fascinating interview with some Polish censors, one of whom illustrates the old way of thinking beautifully by stating that he does not believe censorship should exist; all that is needed, he claims, is 'to let the editors know what they shouldn't write'.³⁴ A Lithuanian philosopher, on the other hand, quoted in *The New York Review*, expresses my own point of view: 'only now are we discovering that we are not free. Even if we have an independent state, we will not be morally and culturally free. For we lack the level of consciousness of free men. Our ways are still old Communist ways.'³⁵

On the individual level, I think Soviets will have to rid themselves of self-censorship. Of course we all censor ourselves to some degree, but in the Soviet environment a normal phenomenon became a pathological one. Again, I wonder if many Soviets realize just how deeply this insidious disease has penetrated, because they have never lived without it. The words of the late Anatolii Kuznetsov, uttered after he left the Soviet Union for England, made a deep impression on me:

Self-censorship, in one form or another, operates in every writer. In the West, it is simply self-discipline, but in the Soviet Union it is an ugly and unavoidable form of self-torment.

When I was still a 'Soviet writer', I once experienced the great pleasure of writing without an inner censor, but it required a tremendous effort to cast off my chains and completely free myself ... I would bolt the door in the evenings and make absolutely certain that no one could see me—just like the hero in Orwell's 1984. Then I would allow myself to write everything I wanted to. I produced something so unorthodox and so 'seditious' that I completely buried it in the ground, because they used to search my apartment while I was away. I consider what I wrote at that time to be the best of anything I have ever written. But it was so extraordinary, so insolent, that to this very day I not dared to show it to even my closest friends. In any case, this was a feast, an artist's spiritual feast. I do not know whether I will ever succeed in doing this again, but it was utter bliss. It pays to go on living for the sake of such moments.³⁶

How does a Soviet writer or editor deal with this problem today, in the current climate? I discussed this recently with a Soviet friend, an editor; he looked rather surprised, thought a moment, and then said, 'You're right. I'll have to start right now to try and kill the censor who lives inside me.' No one

³⁴ Anna Bikont, 'They're Killing Human Thoughts Like Animals', *Index on Censorship*, April 1990, p. 27.

³⁵ Vytautas Rubavicius, quoted in Neal Ascherson, 'The Trial of Lithuania', *New York Review of Books*, 26 April 1990, p. 4.

³⁶ Dewhirst and Farrell (note 32), p. 26.

has described the Soviet system and its deadening effect on institutions and individuals more eloquently than Vaclav Havel in his essay 'The Power of the Powerless', written before the 'velvet revolution' of 1989:

The post-totalitarian system touches people at every step, but it does so with its ideological gloves on. This is why life in the system is so thoroughly permeated with hypocrisy and lies: government by bureaucracy is called popular government; the working class is enslaved in the name of the working class; the complete degradation of the individual is presented as his or her ultimate liberation; depriving people of information is called making it available; the use of power to manipulate is called the public control of power, and the arbitrary abuse of power is called observing the legal code; the repression of culture is called its development; the expansion of imperial influence is presented as support for the oppressed; the lack of free expression becomes the highest form of freedom; farcical elections become the highest form of democracy; banning independent thought becomes the most scientific of world views; military occupation becomes fraternal assistance. Because the regime is captive to its own lies, it must falsify everything. It falsifies the past. It falsifies the present, and it falsifies the future. It falsifies statistics. It pretends not to possess an omnipotent and unprincipled police apparatus. It pretends to respect human rights. It pretends to persecute no one. It pretends to fear nothing. It pretends to pretend nothing.

Individuals need not believe all these mystifications, but they must behave as though they did, or they must at least tolerate them in silence, or get along well with those who work with them. For this reason, however, they must *live within a lie*. They need not accept the lie. It is enough for them to have accepted their life with it and in it. For by this very fact, individuals confirm the system, fulfil the system, make the system, *are* the system.³⁷

I would like to think that when I write my review of the next five years, I might be able to describe the demise of omnicensorship in the Soviet Union.

³⁷ Vaclav Havel et al., *The Power of the Powerless: Citizens Against the State in Central-Eastern Europe*, edited by John Keane (London, Hutchinson, 1985, pp. 30–31.

Новый самиздат (штрихи к истории)

А. Суетнов

Самиздатом в СССР называют выпускаемую вне государственного и иного контроля печатную продукцию, развивающую идеи или художественные течения, запрещенные или не получившие адекватного отражения в контролируемой властями печати или же расходящуюся с принятыми идеологическими, нравственными или эстетическими нормами. Это одно из возможных определений самиздата, было предложено еще до введения в действие (1.VIII.90) принятого в июне Закона о печати, но по сути, при недейственности советского законодательства, развале структур власти, остается верным и по сей день. (Разве что идеологические запреты сменились конъюнктурными или экономическими.)

Информационный взрыв в СССР, наступивший с началом 'перестройки', т.е. на втором году 'ускорения', выбросил на рынок помимо государственных и партийных изданий, еще и сотни независимых, оппозиционных газет и журналов. Некоторые журналисты тут же объявили о появлении в стране свободной прессы. Но вряд ли эти подпольные, печатающиеся на 'левом' оборудовании мизерным тиражом издания заслуживали такой оценки. Это был по-прежнему самиздат, но самиздат в условиях акселерации, в состоянии неестественного роста, подстегнутого допингом санкционированной 'гласности'.

Условия появления самиздата — отсутствие или ограничение в стране основных политических свобод: свободы слова, совести, печати ... Причем под 'ограничением' следует понимать не только юридические запреты, как раз весьма малодейственные, но и чисто практические сложности, вытекающие из сложившейся структуры общества, его ментальности, грубо говоря, условием появления самиздата является неправоное государство. Это явление характерно для кризисного состояния тоталитарно-монопартийного общества.

Существует две принципиальных точки зрения на происхождение самиздата: согласно одной, — это оппозиционная пресса, существовавшая и существующая не только в нашей стране; другая локализирует это явление, полагая его внешней формой нравственного и интеллектуального отрезвления части интеллигенции в послесталинский период. В последнем случае, говоря о самиздате мы имеем в виду подпольную печать 1950-х-1985 годов, присовокупляя к ней издания периода 'перестройки' 1986-1991 годов. Лично я разделяю точку зрения на самиздат как на советский социокультурный феномен, имеющий характерные признаки и четкие хронологические рамки. Он поддается определению по

формальным признакам (примитивная полиграфия, фотография, рукопись); по юридическим (несанкционированность выпуска и распространения, отсутствие лицензии); идеологическим (в основном, антикоммунистической направленности или, по крайней мере, антиправительственной), по духовным (неприятие господствующей конфессии, художественного метода); по признаку 'от противного': все тексты, запрещенные властью или неодобряемые и распространяемые вопреки ей, — самиздат; финансовому (как правило, некоммерческий характер, но цена на 1-2 порядка выше официальных изданий такого же объема); субъективно-профессиональному (большинство изданий откровенно тенденциозны и непрофессиональны). Причем, иногда даже наличие одного из перечисленных признаков позволяет отнести издание к самиздату, а бывает, что и совпадение всех не дает такой гарантии. Например, выпускаемый Зеленоградским райкомом КПСС 'Дискуссионный листок' — непрофессионален, имеет некоммерческий характер, не любит правительство, несанкционирован к выпуску, и полиграфия — примитивная. Но, увы ...

Мне кажется разгадка феномена самиздата в его корнях. История самиздата в СССР — это история инакомыслия. А история политизированного самиздата практически совпадает с историей правозащитного движения. Очевидна необходимость различать правозащитный самиздат 1950-х-середины 80-х годов (ведь освобождение культуры от пут идеологии — такая же правозащитная деятельность как и раскрепощение тоталитарного сознания, защита неотъемлемых прав человека), и новый, перестроечный самиздат 1987-1990 годов. Классический самиздат — это явление духовного порядка, нравственный и человеческий подвиг.

Большинство независимых издателей 50-80-х годов прошли лагеря и ссылки. Среди них такие люди, как Револют Пименов, Александр Гинзбург, Владимир Осипов, Леонид Бородин. 'Классический самиздат' — это прежде всего перепечатки запрещенной в СССР литературы, открытые письма и петиции (сложился целый круг неблагонадежных гуманитариев, прозванных 'подписантами'); в 70-х годов появляются продолжающиеся альманахи и тематические сборники (знаменитые 'Отклики на 'Письмо вождям' А. Солженицына' под редакцией В. Чалидзе). В конце 70-х годов в Ленинграде появляются первые толстые литературные журналы, пережившие свое время и существующие до сих пор: 'Часы' — редакторы Борис Иванов и Сергей Магид, и 'Обводной канал' — под редакцией Сергея Стратановского и Кирилла Бутырина. Кстати, это одни из немногих крупных издателей, избежавшие преследований. Последние групповые процессы над доперестроечными издателями прошли в 1982 году, когда были разгромлены журналы 'Поиски', 'Левый поворот' и 'Варианты'. История доперестроечного самиздата достаточно подробно изложена в книге Л. Алексеевой 'История инакомыслия' (Нью-

Йорк, 1984), и в Советском Союзе сейчас появляется достаточно много статей-воспоминаний бывших диссидентов и зэка. Некоторые из них (Г. Павловский, Б. Кагарлицкий, П. Кудюкин) ныне — лидеры партий или крупные бизнесмены.

История нового самиздата изучена гораздо хуже. С моей точки зрения, она начинается с провозглашения 'гласности' и заканчивается 1 августа 1990 года. Новый самиздат отличается от классического прежде всего отсутствием жертвенности, утерей мессианского начала. Перефразируя А. Галича, стало можно 'выйти на площадь' и не только выйти, но и торговать. (В последние годы мне не раз приходилось слышать призывы 'Купите 'Свободное слово'! 'Русская мысль' — цена три рубля!') Началом первого периода нового самиздата можно считать выход бюллетеня 'Гласность' (май 1987), впоследствии превратившегося в толстый периодический журнал, а его издатель (С. Григорьянц) — в главу разветвленной информационной фирмы.

С некоторым запозданием (август 1987) появляется, с моей точки зрения, лучший и по сей день политический еженедельник 'Экспресс-хроника' (редактор А. Подрабинек). Осенью этого же года выходит историко-политический журнал будущих анархо-синдикалистов 'Община', теоретический журнал будущих социал-демократов 'Открытая зона', в Ленинграде появляются культурно-публицистические журналы 'Вестник Совета по экологии культуры' и 'Меркурий'. До конца года в разных регионах страны появилось около двадцати изданий. Печатались они на машинке ('Эрика' берет четыре копии ...), распространялись в довольно узком кругу и, в общем-то, особой реакции у властей не вызывали. Забегая вперед замечу, что качественный уровень первых независимых изданий (имеются в виду элементарная грамотность и вкус) заметно превосходил нынешнюю 'свободную прессу'. Случайных людей, ринувшихся в погоню за конъюнктурой среди издателей-неформалов почти не было.

В 1988 году одновременно с ростом изданий и увеличением тиражей, издатели начинают испытывать довольно жесткий прессинг властей; прежде всего перекрываются каналы распространения. Постфактум, можно заметить, что именно к концу 1988 года задуманный сценарий перемен в обществе стал стихийно коррелироваться демосом. Вплоть до весны 1989 года между властями и самиздатчиками шла упорная борьба, пародийно повторяющая трагическую борьбу диссидентов 70-х годов. Новых издателей штрафовали, сажали на 15 суток, отбирали тиражи. В ответ на это увеличивались цены, штат распространителей, приобреталась современная техника. Самиздат коммерциализировался, расчленился по партиям и рвался на широкий рынок. Большинство новых изданий (а с весны 1989 их возникало по десятку в день) — это политические

газеты, представляющие разнообразные общественные организации. К этому времени стабилизируется число религиозных и литературных изданий, они начинают медленно исчезать, буквально раздавленные 'рвущейся к власти оравой речистой швали' (Галич).

Фактическое прекращение преследований (видимо, в силу развала структур управления) в 1990 году способствовало росту самиздата в провинциях. В это же время в центре стали возникать первые коммерческие монстры, образующиеся путем объединения усилий корумпированной парто-советократии и кооперативных предприятий. Используя все выгоды близости к власти (доступ к бумаге, технике, типографиям, минимальные расценки), социальную защищенность и высокую рентабельность издательского бизнеса, эти издания постепенно захватывали рынок. Постепенно происходила 'перекачка умов' в кооперативный сектор, с одной стороны, и следование правилам игры — коммерциализация самиздата, с другой.

При всей объективности этого процесса, его сложно назвать благотворным. С августа по декабрь 1990 года только на всесоюзном уровне было зарегистрировано более 800 изданий. Из них около 30 — ранее 'независимых'. Происходит заметная трансформация самиздата. Часть — тиражом до 1000 экземпляров, приобретает статус 'легального самиздата' и имеет право не уведомлять о своем существовании. Другая часть активно регистрируется на всех пяти уровнях власти (всесоюзном, республиканском, автономном, городском и районном), приобретая 'юридическое лицо', но отнюдь не экономическую свободу. И наконец, третья, — наиболее любезные моему сердцу издания — ни на какие контакты с властями не идут, справедливо считая свободу печати своим неотъемлемым правом, которое никто не может ни даровать, ни отнять.

'Последние могикане' чистого самиздата ('Экспресс-хроника', 'Митин журнал', 'БХО' — Бюллетень христианской общественности — и др.) обречены. Но роль этих изданий в политической и культурной атмосфере очередного переломного периода России, с моей точки зрения, велика. Пусть из-за мизерности тиражей постоянными читателями являлись не более 2-3 тысячи человек. Но эти 2 тысячи представляют именно ту часть населения, от которой зависит, окажемся ли мы к 75-летнему возрасту СССР в состоянии маразма и варварства или сохраним какие-то остатки российской души, вольномыслия и вольнолюбия.

Хроника самиздата (1952-1990)

В года глухие ...

- 1952 г. Термин 'самиздат' ввел поэт Николай Глазков, поставив на своих рукописях вместо названия издательства 'самсебяиздат'.
- 1954-57 гг. В Ленинграде выходит первый общественно-политический бюллетень 'Информация'. Редактор, Револют Пименов, арестован и осужден по ст. 58 (Антисоветская агитация и пропаганда). Успел выпустить 10 номеров.
- Конец 50-х-
начала 60-х гг. Появляются первые литературные журналы 'Сфинксы', 'Феникс', 'Ересь', 'Культура', и др.
- 1960 г. Александр Гинзбург издает журнал 'Синтаксис'.
- 1964-70 гг. Рой Медведев выпускает ежемесячный сборник 'Политический дневник'.
- 1966 г. декабрь 'Белая книга' А. Гинзбурга выходит на Западе и распространяется в самиздате.
- 1967 г. январь Александр Гинзбург и его друзья арестованы и в январе 1968 г. осуждены. Поэт Юрий Галансков — 7 лет лагерей строгого режима, Александр Гинзбург — 5 лет, рабочий Алексей Добровольский — два года, машинистка Вера Лашкова — 1 год. Всем осужденным инкриминируется 'связь с заграницей'.
- май Обращение А. И. Солженицына о свободе творчества к IV съезду Союза советских писателей.
- лето-осень Анатолий Марченко, освободившись из мордовских лагерей, пишет мемуарную книгу 'Мои показания' — одно из первых свидетельств о политических лагерях в СССР после сталинской эпохи. Книга широко распространяется в самиздате.
- 1968 г. Сборник '14 последних слов', состоящий из наиболее ярких речей подсудимых на политических процессах, выпущен Юлиусом Телесиным, известным как 'Принц Самиздатский'.
- В Ленинграде выходит Информационно-политический журнал 'Колокол'. Вышло два номера, после чего издатели В. Ронкин и С. Хахаев были арестованы и осуждены.

- 1968 г. весна
продолжение
- Появление в самиздате статьи академика А. Д. Сахарова 'Размышления о прогрессе, мирном сосуществовании и интеллектуальной свободе'.
- 30 апреля
- Выходит первый номер 'Хроники текущих событий', просуществовавшей 15 лет. Первый редактор Наталья Горбаневская.
- 1970-72 гг.
- Выходит журнал 'Общественные проблемы' под редакцией Валерия Чалидзе.
- 1971-74 гг.
- Выходит журнал национально-патриотического направления 'Вече'. Редактор — Вл. Осипов. В 1974-ом г. вышло 3 номера журнала 'Земля' под его же редакцией.
- 1975 г.
- Писатель и политзаключенный Леонид Бородин издает 'Московский сборник'.
- С 1976 года в самиздате прослеживается тенденция к созданию периодических сборников. Первый такой сборник назывался 'Память' и был идеологически и политически нейтральным. Выходил до 1982 года. В редакцию входят Лариса Богораз, Наталья Горбаневская, Арсений Рогинский и др. В Ленинграде начинают выходить литературный журнал 'Часы', существующий по сю пору, и литературно-публицистический журнал '37'. Редактора: Борис Иванов ('Часы') и Виктор Кривулин ('37').
- 1977 г. 5 января
- Образована Рабочая комиссия по расследованию использования психиатрии в политических целях. В ее состав вошли: Александр Подрабинек, Вячеслав Бахмин, Ирина Каплун, Петр Григоренко, и др. Комиссия издавала свой бюллетень о положении заключенных в психбольницах. Вышло 24 номера за 4 года. В феврале 1981 г. Рабочая комиссия прекратила свою деятельность, так как были арестованы и осуждены последние ее члены.
- 1978 г. осень
- Появление альманаха 'Метрополь'. Составители: Василий Аксенов, Андрей Битов, Виктор Ерофеев, Фазиль Искандер, Евгений Попов.
- 1979 г.
- К 60-летию А. Сахарова выпущен 'Сахаровский сборник'. Выходит толстый литературно-публицистический журнал 'Поиски'. На обложке указаны имена издателей: Раиса Лерт, Валерий Абрамкин, Владимир Гершуни, Юрий Гримм, Виктор Сокирко, Петр Егидес, Глеб Павловский.

1979 г.

продолжение

Абрамкин арестован 1 декабря 1979 г. и вышел из лагеря в 1985 г. Лерт умерла до ареста. Сокирко после ареста покался и был отпущен. Гершуни отправлен в 1982 г. в психбольницу, где пробыл до 1987 г. Егидес успел эмигрировать. Павловский отправлен в ссылку до 1985 г.

Издается журнал 'Поединок', публикующий переводные материалы из зарубежной прессы.

Выходит социалистический неомарксистский журнал 'Левый поворот' ('Социализм и будущее') под редакцией Б. Кагарлицкого. Он был арестован в 1982 г. вместе с редакцией 'Вариантов'. Был отпущен в 1983 г., покавшись.

В Ленинграде выходит литературно-критический и философский журнал 'Обводный канал'. Издают его Сергей Стратановский и Кирилл Бутырин.

1980 г.

Появляется социалистический журнал 'Варианты'. В его редакцию входят Павел Кудюкин, Андрей Фадин, Владимир Чернецкий, Юрий Хавкин и Михаил Ривкин. Все арестованы в 1982 г. Ривкин осужден в 1983 г. на 7 лет лагерей и 5 лет ссылки. Остальные раскаялись в содеянном и были помилованы до начала суда.

1982 г.

Вышел альманах 'Многие лета' под редакцией национал-патриота Г. Шиманова.

1982-86 — годы наиболее сильных репрессий против самиздатчиков и они практически прекращают свою деятельность. Большинство из них находятся в местах заключения либо эмигрировали. Распространенным жанром самиздата становится заявление на случай ареста. В Ленинграде продолжают выходить литературно-философские издания.

*'По России мчится тройка:
..... Перестройка!'*

1987 г. май

Появился общественно-политический журнал 'Гласность' под редакцией бывшего политзаключенного Сергея Григорьянца.

июль

В Ленинграде выходит 'Вестник Совета по экологии культуры' под редакцией М. Талалая.

1987 г.	август	Начинает выходить 'Экспресс-хроника' под редакцией Алескандра Подрабинека.
продолжение	октябрь	Р. Астахов выпускает публицистический журнал 'В полный рост'.
	осень	Выходят журналы 'Община', 'Референдум', возобновляется 'Левый поворот' (в совершенно ином направлении, но с тем же редактором).
	декабрь	Состоялась первая встреча представителей независимых изданий в Ленинграде. Начало создание Клуба независимой печати.

К концу года в СССР существует около 50 независимых изданий на русском, украинском и белорусском языках, в основном журналов, выходящих тиражом от 30 до 200 экземпляров. Большинство из них находятся в Москве или Ленинграде.

1988 г.	Начало бурного роста неподцензурной периодики. Появляются газеты, печатающиеся большим тиражом. 'Экспресс-хроника' доводит тираж до 10 000, 'Свободное слово' (октябрь 1988) сразу начинает с 5 000. Появляются первые коммерческие издания.
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К концу года в стране уже больше 250 независимых газет и журналов на русском, украинском и белорусском языках.

1989 г.	'Взрыв' самиздата. Издания появляются каждый день, в основном газеты и бюллетени политического характера. Уменьшается число литературных изданий. В конце года появляется первая оппозиционная газета 'Народный депутат', изданная типографским способом. В Балтии независимая пресса печатается в типографиях и распространяется открыто. Активно идет коммерциализация прессы.
январь	Вышел первый номер журнала 'Независимый библиограф', целиком посвященный самиздату.
март	Сотрудники КГБ и милиции грабят редакцию 'Гласности'.
апрель	Сотрудники КГБ и милиции вывозят часть фонда Независимой общественной библиотеки.
май	Фактическое создание (II конгресс) Профсоюза независимых журналистов. На съезде в Вильнюсе присутствуют 230 издателей и редакторов.

1989 г. июль Создание Библиографического центра независимой печати.

‘Табель о рангах’ на конец 1989 г. (по результатам опроса читателей: очков в %)

1. ‘Экспресс-хроника’	30%
2. ‘Свободное слово’	27%
3. ‘Гласность’	26%
4. ‘Референдум’	24%
5. ‘Панорама’	23%
6. ‘Гражданское достоинство’	18%
7. ‘Новая жизнь’	15%
8. ‘Пресс-бюллетень СиБИА’	13%
9. ‘Хроника’	12%
10. ‘Община’	10%

К концу года в стране 600 изданий на русском, украинском и белорусском языках. Суммарный тираж — около 200 тысяч экземпляров.

1990 г.

Прогресс легализации независимой прессы в столицах и одновременное пробуждение провинции. Центральные издания печатаются с применением компьютеров и типографского оборудования, тиражи до 50 000. Независимые листки и бюллетени возникают повсеместно. Репрессии властей почти прекращаются. Происходит ‘утечка умов’ в кооперативные и коммерческие издания. Фактически прекращают работу ‘Клуб независимой печати’ и Профсоюз независимых журналистов.

январь III конгресс Профсоюза независимых журналистов в Таллинне. Присутствовало около 100 человек.

июнь Клуб независимой печати направляет в Моссовет заявление, требуя предоставить возможность пользоваться государственными типографиями и приобретать бумагу легальными способами. Заявление остается без ответа.

1 августа Введен в действие принятый в июне Закон о печати.

ноябрь Зарегистрировано всего 5 бывших самиздатских журналов, выходивших раньше нелегально. Остальные, по-прежнему, самостоятельны.

1990 г. декабрь
продолжение

Состоялся IV (поминальный?) конгресс Профсоюза независимых журналистов. Зарегистрировано 24 бывших самиздатских изданий.

К концу года в стране (т.е. в СССР) существует более 1000 неподцензурных самиздатских периодических изданий на русском, украинском и белорусском языках, общим тиражом свыше 500 000 экземпляров.

Recent Developments in Soviet Publishing

Gregory Walker

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe briefly, and offer some comment on, the very significant changes which have affected the Soviet publishing industry since Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to the General Secretaryship in March 1985, and the potentially even more important developments now (July 1990) in immediate prospect. For the scope and impact of these changes to be pointed up, the situation of Soviet publishing in the first half of the 1980s needs to be characterized. The description which follows applies in virtually every respect to the industry as it existed throughout the Brezhnev years.¹

Political and ideological direction of the media was in the hands of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee's Secretariat, the staff of which maintained especially close links with major newspapers and journals.² The Central Committee apparatus and local Party organs approved all senior staff appointments under the *nomenklatura* procedure,³ and took the final decisions over setting up publishing houses, newspapers and periodicals and over dispensing the strictly controlled 'right to publish' to other organizations. The State Committee for Publishing (Goskomizdat), together with its republic- and local-level administrations, acted as the executive and administrative arm of Party policy. It exercised full authority over most publishing houses not under direct Party control; 'coordinated' all publishers' proposals for works to be issued; set and monitored detailed production and financial plans for each house; allocated paper and printing facilities; and set the scales for authors' fees and book prices, bestowing subsidies where the latter forced publishers to make a loss. Strict pre-publication censorship was applied according to prevailing Party requirements, formally by the main censoring organ Glavlit, and less explicitly by the publishers themselves and Goskomizdat's 'coordination' process. This

¹ For a more detailed description of the situation in Soviet publishing at this time, see G. Walker, 'Soviet Publishing since the October Revolution', in *Book Culture in Russia/USSR* (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, forthcoming 1990?). A useful review of issues in Soviet publishing three years after Gorbachev's accession is Amy Corning, *Problems in the Soviet Book Publishing Industry* (RL supplement 3/88, *Radio Liberty Research Bulletin*, 17.8.88), 11 pp.

² L. Dzirkals et al., *The Media and Intra-Élite Communication in the USSR* (RAND Report R-2869) (Santa Monica, RAND Corp., 1982), esp. pp. 14-18.

³ G. Walker, 'Personnel Policy in the Control of Soviet Book Publishing', in M. T. Choldin (ed.), *Books, Libraries and Information in Slavic and East European Studies* (New York, Russica, 1986), pp. 242-6.

'administrative-command' system implanted an attitude to publishing work and to superior authority which sought a high degree of responsiveness to Party policy over the content of printed matter at the cost of a large bureaucratic supercargo and gross economic inefficiency.

Subject to all these constraints, publishers nevertheless had some discretion to select topics for treatment and to seek out appropriate authors within the 'profile' specified for their house, but that discretion was further circumscribed—to an extent depending on the nature of their publications—by the requirements from their superior authorities to produce specified texts or support favoured campaigns. The system's cumbersome decision-making processes and slow reaction times over matters not directly related to avoiding the officially unacceptable in print, coupled with a chronic paper shortage and inadequate printing capacity, inhibited response to readers' preferences even to the extent that this would otherwise have been permitted by ideological and political considerations. The *knizhnyi bum*, which set in during the 1970s as progressively better-educated and better-paid Soviet citizens demanded more reading matter, was paralleled—as it still is—by the *knizhnyi defitsit*, as publishers found themselves able to fulfil only a minor fraction of book-trade orders for categories of publication in heavy demand.⁴

In turning from the scene of five years ago to the state of Soviet publishing today, I shall deal in turn with some of the principal elements in the Soviet publishing process: the Party and state, the publishers (both official and unofficial), and the influence exerted by reader demand. Finally, I shall say something of the new Law on the Press, which promises to have a momentous effect on Soviet publishing.

The Roles of the Party and the State

The Communist Party's previously undisputed dominance over the state administrators has given way to a more complex and still evolving situation—in publishing as in the rest of Soviet public life—as political and other allegiances form across the previous boundaries between Party, state and other public activity. Overall direction of publishing from the Central Committee has effectively ceased, and even the Party's own publishing houses and newspapers no longer speak with one voice. Some powers previously exercised at high level within the Party apparatus have now been abandoned, such as the decisive voice in the formation of publishers, journals and newspapers.⁵ The *nomenklatura* system itself was discredited, though not formally abandoned, at the Nineteenth Party Conference in 1988, and the

⁴ J. and C. Garrard, 'Soviet Book Hunger', *Problems of Communism* (Sept.–Oct. 1985), pp. 78–9.

⁵ 'V TsK KPSS', *Pravda*, 6.8.89, p. 1. Translated in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 6.9.89, pp. 31–2.

appointment of senior publishing personnel by advertisement and election by staff has become commonplace at the level of publishing-house director and chief editor, although cases continue to be reported of senior positions being filled on orders from above.⁶

Glavlit, the main censorship organ (which was assumed to take its policy leads from the Central Committee and the KGB despite its formal subordination to the Council of Ministers) retains the powers designed to ensure the observance in print of an authorised line and to remove references to unacceptable subjects and individuals. Its authority to exert those powers has for the moment been restricted, with the emphasis now being placed—at least publicly—on preventing the emergence of state and military secrets, themselves less freely defined than formerly, but censorship serial numbers continue to appear on the great majority of Soviet books and periodicals, and some titles remain confined to *spetskhrany* or prohibited from import.⁷

The Soviet government department which administers publishing, printing and the book trade has undergone considerable restructuring. By mid-1990 it had changed its name to the State Press Committee (Goskompechat'), seen three changes of chairman in four years, reshaped its internal organization and begun preparing to shed staff. Even more significantly, it had witnessed a curtailment to its powers of intervention in the industry.⁸ The previous lengthy 'coordination' process applied to publishers' proposals (i.e. the granting of permission to include works in their plans of forthcoming publications) has been discontinued except in the case of textbooks and other educational literature, and the Committee's Chief Editorial Offices (*glavnye redaktsii*), through which the submissions were channelled, have been abolished. While Goskompechat' still nominally has the broad task of 'formulating concepts for development of the printed media' and 'raising the ideological, moral, scholarly and artistic quality' of material published,⁹ its relations with publishers now centre in practice much more exclusively on matters of finance and supplies. Here the state administration still holds the levers of direct intervention. Goskompechat', acting in conjunction with Gosplan and the Ministry of Finance, still sets publishers' production and financial plans, which determine such vital matters as: the amount of each

⁶ Nikolai Efimov was appointed Chief Editor of *Izvestiia* in May 1990, reportedly against the wishes of the paper's staff, after less than a year in office as Chairman of the State Press Committee (*Report on the USSR*, 1.6.90, pp. 33–4).

⁷ A. P. Shikman, 'Prezumptsiia razreshennosti', *Sovetskaia bibliografiia*, 1990, no. 1, p. 31. Shikman reports, after interviews with Glavlit officials, that Glavlit plans to begin compiling a publicly available catalogue of books still restricted to libraries' 'special holdings'. It is expected to list no more than 150 (*sic*) items. See also the entry under Boldyrev, Vladimir Alekseevich (head of Glavlit) in *Soviet Biographical Service*, 6(3) (June 1990), pp. 55–6.

⁸ 'Novaia struktura upravleniia otrasl'iu', *Poligrafiia*, 1990, no. 2, p. 1.

⁹ 'Novaia struktura ...' (note 8).

house's paper quota; the printing facilities at its disposal; the deductions to be made from its profits, if any, to the state budget and to Goskompechat's own operating costs and central reserves; or the amount it will receive in subsidy to cover loss-making production. Educational, scientific, technical and socio-political literature are still generally loss-making undertakings, and in 1989 over 50% of books published were regarded as unprofitable.¹⁰ Over 60% of journals are also loss-makers,¹¹ as are most local newspapers: in 1987 the latter were said to be consuming 80 million roubles annually in subsidies.¹²

Nor has the state's influence on the make-up of the publishing *assortiment* disappeared completely. In some fields, the nature of subject coverage and the content of publications are still heavily affected by the *goszakaz*, that is, the orders from state-controlled agencies for particular materials—notably in the case of educational, children's, scientific-technical and socio-political literature, and publications for export. Another example of the far-reaching policy decisions which Goskompechat' is still empowered to make is the recent removal of ceilings on subscriptions to journals (*bezlimitnaia podpiska*), which has necessitated a redistribution of paper supplies at the expense of book production.¹³ Paper allocations for state publishing houses in 1989 had to be reduced to 1987 levels, and Goskompechat's head of supplies procurement forecast that in 1990 only a select number of textbook and reference publishers would be allocated even nearly as much paper as they needed, while many others would receive only 57–60%.¹⁴

Goskompechat's role is the target of increasingly widespread criticism, and there is a growing inclination to question the entire *raison d'être* of the Committee or any equivalent organ. A hard-hitting article in *Druzhba narodov* in 1988 claimed that the Committee's dominating position allowed it to justify its activities by attempting to supply ever-increasing quantities of undemanding writing to the mass market while becoming less and less capable of keeping publishing abreast of new scientific and cultural developments.¹⁵ In the same year a leading scholar at the Institute of the Book told an all-Union congress on book studies that Soviet publishing had the character of a cartel in a seller's market, and that the 'producer monopoly'

¹⁰ M. Nenashev, 'Put' k chitateliu: khozraschet i demokratizatsiia', *Slovo: v mire knig*, 1989, no. 5, p. 21.

¹¹ V. Bychkov, 'Chto dast zhurnalnu khozraschet?', *Zhurnalist*, 1989, no. 8, p. 41.

¹² 'Pooshchriaetsia tvorchestvo', *Zhurnalist*, 1987, no. 10, p. 37.

¹³ 'Ne zhdem legkikh reshenii', *Poligrafia*, 1989, no. 10, p. 1.

¹⁴ S. M. Galkin, 'Khleb kul'tury', *Slovo*, 1990, no. 4, pp. 21–2.

¹⁵ L. Gudkov and B. Dubin, 'Literaturnaia kul'tura: protsess i ratsion', *Druzhba narodov*, 1988, no. 2, pp. 181, 186. Gudkov and Dubin explore related themes in a later article: 'Parallel'nye literatury: popytka sotsiologicheskogo opisaniia', *Rodnik* (Riga), 1989, no. 12, pp. 24–31.

would last for as long as publishers were locked into the state sector.¹⁶ In both instances, and on many other occasions, the introduction of cooperatives was advocated as a counterweight to, and competition for, state-sponsored publishing. Goskompechat' is commonly perceived as an unnecessarily large bureaucracy: the director of one large publishing house alleged in 1989 that middle-level officials there had been reduced by lack of responsibilities to making work for themselves by preparing one report after another.¹⁷

To be fair, the same director also took the view that publishers in the USSR would find life harder without a 'protector' like Goskompechat' at government level in the prevailing conditions of supply shortages and financial uncertainty. The last two Goskompechat' chairmen, both clearly aware of the Committee's unpopularity, have defended it as a safeguard against unbridled commercialism in the publishing sector, and as the only acceptable mechanism for distributing scarce supplies, allocating subsidies and assessing demand nationwide.¹⁸ Even so, at his confirmation hearing before the Supreme Soviet in 1989, Goskompechat' chairman Nikolai Efimov conceded that, if and when publishers and printing enterprises could secure their requirements independently, meeting costs from their own resources, 'then it is possible that the need for a State Committee for the Press will no longer exist'.¹⁹ The formation of the Association of Soviet Publishers, which held its founding congress in April 1990, is seen by the industry as preparing the ground for an increasing degree of self-administration in book and journal publishing, with the Association joining Goskompechat' in policy-making at the highest level.²⁰

The Publishing House

At the level of the individual publishing house, changes in the political climate have helped to give rise to, and have subsequently combined with, changes in its working practices and the economic framework of its operations, to bring about important shifts in the character of many houses' output. The removal of much of the burden of external censorship and 'coordination' has already been mentioned, and this has been accompanied by several measures intended to give publishers a greater degree of autonomy

¹⁶ E. A. Dinershtein, 'K voprosu o putiakh demokratizatsii sovetskogo knigoizdaniia', in *Kniga i kul'tura: Shestaia Vsesoiuznaia nauchnaia konferentsiia po problemam knigovedeniia. Sektsiia izdatel'skogo dela. Tezisy dokladov, 18-20 aprel' 1988 g.* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 5-6.

¹⁷ G. Andzhaparidze, 'Perestroika idet, no ...', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 20.1.89, pp. 2, 15. Andzhaparidze is director of the 'Khudozhestvennaia literatura' publishing house.

¹⁸ 'Ne zhdem ...' (note 13), p. 1; and Nenashev (note 10), p. 22.

¹⁹ 'Ne zhdem ...' (note 13), p. 1.

²⁰ A. K. Avelichev, 'Ot diktata—k samoupravleniiu', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 27.4.90, p. 5; and 'Ustav Assotsiatsii sovetskikh knigoizdatelei (ASKI)', *Novye knigi SSSR*, 1990, no. 20, pp. 32-4.

(within limits, as we shall see) in planning their editorial activity and selecting works for publication. By the end of 1987 publishing houses were being allowed to fill senior posts by election instead of by Party nomination, a right which has since been widely exercised.²¹ The practice of closed refereeing (*zakrytoe retsenzirovanie*) of manuscripts had been abandoned as undemocratic, and publishers were allowed to issue works containing controversial views (*diskussionnye polozheniia*) without the compulsory addition of corrective editorial comment.²² The *tirazh* of works was allowed to be set by the publishers themselves in the case of those titles for which they accepted full financial responsibility.

The economic position of publishers, and their attitude to the financial performance of their houses, has been affected by their transfer to 'full *khozraschet*' and so-called self-financing over a three-year period ending in 1989.²³ This has permitted somewhat greater freedom in the use of houses' wage funds (for instance, authors' fees can now be set at the publishers' discretion instead of according to centrally established scales), and rather greater freedom of action has been given to those houses which are in a position to select for publication works yielding high profits.²⁴ Beginning in 1987, publishers were allowed to set their own prices for certain types of publication (some recreational reading, bibliophile editions, dictionaries and other reference works), partly in order to combat the thriving black market in sought-after works,²⁵ and this right was extended by the introduction in 1988 of 'contract prices' for works in heavy demand, which publishers were allowed to negotiate direct with printers.

Nevertheless it is the state, as represented by Goskompechat', which retains control over by far the greater part of the money which flows to, from and within the industry. Publishers' financial plans still have to be drawn up around the 'givens' notified to them annually by Goskompechat'. These include: planned levels of production, income and foreign currency earnings; quotas for paper and other supplies; printing facilities allocated; any state

²¹ Nenashev (note 10), p. 21, noted that twenty-five directors had been appointed by election to publishing houses subordinated to Goskomizdat by Spring 1989.

²² 'O dal'neishei demokratizatsii organizatsionno-tvorcheskoi deiatel'nosti izdatel'stv', resolution of Goskomizdat SSSR of 3.12.87, in *Knigoizdanie: napravlenie perestroiki* (Moscow, Kniga, 1988), pp. 220-7.

²³ I. Korovkin, 'Perestroika upravleniia ekonomikoi knigoizdaniia', *V mire knig*, 1988, no. 2, pp. 13-18.

²⁴ Publishers are increasingly breaking away from the parameters of their former rigidly enforced 'profiles'. For example, the 'Plakat' house, faced with a steep fall in the demand for the posters in which it was intended to specialize, has been renamed 'Panorama' and is launching a list which is clearly intended for saleability under glasnost: it includes Benjamin Spock, Nabokov, Akhmatova, Kerensky's memoirs, science fiction and comics ('Diapazon "Panoramy"', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 20.4.90, p. 2).

²⁵ 'Tsenu diktuet ekonomika', *V mire knig*, 1987, no. 9, p. 31.

orders placed; and deductions from income to the state budget and to Goskompechat's central funds. It is these latter two money flows which remove most of the reality from the principle of 'self-financing'.

Despite the large number of loss-making titles issued, and indeed of loss-making publishers, the very high earnings from some types of publication—notably fiction—make Soviet book and journal publishing as a whole quite a profitable sector of the economy: in 1987, publishers and other enterprises directly subordinated to Goskomizdat (as it then was) produced 430 million roubles in profit,²⁶ but the extent of the deductions places this figure in rather a different light. About 70% of publishers' profits is currently transferred to the state budget,²⁷ and a smaller though recently increasing proportion to Goskompechat's own central funds. Great importance is still attached to the Committee's maintaining a substantial reserve from which major capital expenditure and subsidies can be directed: this was expected to amount to at least 100 million roubles in 1990.²⁸ The most profitable Soviet publisher by a considerable distance is 'Khudozhestvennaia literatura': from its projected income of 190 million roubles in 1990, 52% (98.5m roubles) is planned to be deducted to the state budget and 44% (83.7m roubles) to Goskompechat, leaving the house with a net (*khozraschetnyi*) income of 7.2m roubles, or 3.8% of total earnings.²⁹

Soviet critics have seen publishers' new, though circumscribed, economic opportunities as bringing with them a strong incentive to achieve or increase 'above-plan' profits—which swell their wages fund—by increasing prices and reducing the number of titles published, especially those intended for limited readerships and/or still subject to state price controls which render them unrewarding. In 1988, while the sales income of the principal (Union-subordinated) publishers increased by 9.5%, or nearly 50 million roubles, compared with the previous year, nine-tenths of that increase was accounted for by price rises, of which 'contract pricing' yielded 33 million roubles.³⁰ It is common for contract prices to result in retail prices twice or three times as high as those which would be set by the state price scales.

²⁶ Korovkin (note 23), p. 13. Publishers appear to have yielded the greater part of this amount: they are stated to have produced 15.6 million roubles of the total 23.7 million in 'above-plan' profits.

²⁷ Nenashev (note 10), p. 21.

²⁸ Korovkin (note 23), p. 17.

²⁹ A. Shch., 'Konsensus: zametki po povodu nestandartnoi situatsii', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 13.4.90, p. 14. This account also records a threat by staff at 'Khudozhestvennaia literatura' to withhold payments to Goskompechat because the house's paper quota was reduced without consultation while planned earnings were not correspondingly reduced.

³⁰ Nenashev (note 10), p. 21.

Cooperative and 'Informal' Publishing

The idea of publishing through cooperatives has enjoyed widespread support since the early days of perestroika, especially from the Writers' Unions, from individual authors, and from scholars and others speaking as readers. From 1986 onwards numerous proposals for publishing cooperatives were floated. Opposition from the Party and state authorities, and probably from at least some established publishing houses, led initially to a firm rejection of the concept of cooperatives as independent publishers early in 1988, in favour of regulations allowing authors to publish through established houses at their own expense. The Council of Ministers' decree on cooperatives later in the same year allowed them only to supply supporting services to organizations which did enjoy the right to publish.³¹ The publishing administrators' view at the time was that a degree of ideological oversight should still be exercised over cooperatives' publishing activities by state-controlled houses, and that cooperatives should not be allowed to benefit unduly from what were clearly regarded as their unfair advantages over state-sector publishing: no obligation to produce loss-making works, and greater freedom to dispose of their revenue.³²

Nevertheless, a rapidly growing number of cooperatives are now functioning as publishers in all but name, producing profitable titles and able to afford 'over-plan' paper supplies bought at contract prices from the manufacturers. It is also becoming common for established publishing houses to work in a contractual relationship with one or more *redaktsionno-proizvodstvennyye kooperativy* (RPK), which carry out the commissioning, editing, illustration and design of books on the house's behalf.³³ Moreover, cooperative publishing has begun to be distinguished from 'independent' or 'informal' publishing as groups and individuals with every variety of affiliation and sponsorship seek out paper and reproduction facilities to make their own voices heard. The *kooppressa* is seen by the 'independents' as operating primarily for profit, while the *parallel'naia pechat'* is regarded (at least by its originators and supporters) as the authentic transmitter of non-official opinion. The editor of *Nezavisimyi bibliograf*, Aleksandr Suetnov, claimed in a recent interview to have identified 762 'parallel' journals and series in the Slavonic languages of the USSR alone.³⁴ An All-Union Association of Independent Publishers was set up late in 1989, several

³¹ Iu. M. Baturin, M. A. Fedotov and V. L. Entin, *Zakon o pechati i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii: initsiativnyi avtorskii proekt* (Moscow, Iuridicheskaya literatura, 1989), p. 12.

³² 'Kooperativy i knigi', *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 9.8.89, p. 7. Translated in *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 1989, no. 41(33), pp. 34-5.

³³ 'Kooperativy v knigoizdaniy', *Knizhnoye obozrenie*, 12.1.90, p. 4.

³⁴ 'Nezakonnoe ditia perestroiki', *Zhurnalist*, 1990, no. 4, p. 59.

months before the 'official' Association of Soviet Publishers held its founding congress, even though the legal status of the informal publishing operations was dubious at best before the new Law on the Press came into force—an event which is dealt with below. Professor Shakhnazarov, adviser to Mr Gorbachev and deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet's committee on legislation, admitted in late 1989: 'Now, when the Press Law is not yet in force but all restrictions in this sphere which previously existed have in practice been lifted, several hundreds or even thousands of publications have appeared, issued freely but at the same time [only] semi-legally.'³⁵

By contrast, publishing at authors' expense by state-subordinated publishers has not so far been widely adopted. The newly legalized practice is unpopular with many publishing houses, which find it unprofitable, and many authors are experiencing difficulties with publicity and distribution. It is alleged that preference is being given to writers who can secure the necessary paper supplies, or who have sponsors able to do so on their behalf. In 1989, 463 such titles were issued in a total of some three million copies.³⁶

Reader Demand and its Satisfaction

It has been a declared and often reiterated intention of Goskompechat' and its predecessor during the years of glasnost that the publishing industry should 'satisfy reader demand', but some of the most intractable problems in Soviet publishing policy have arisen, and persist, over the issues which this commitment raises. There is, firstly, the question of the extent to which reader demand *should* be catered for (or pandered to, as some Soviet traditionalists would see it) in its unformed or uneducated state—as expressed, for instance, by the clamour for light recreational reading—and of the lengths to which the authorities should go in manipulating tastes and preferences by such means as preferential pricing, dictation of *tirazh* sizes, and directives over the promotion or prohibition of subjects and authors. Although in all these respects intervention by the central administration has been much reduced, the principle of such manipulation has not been renounced by Party or government.

Secondly, there is the difficulty of establishing the nature and level of reader demand if any significant role *is* to be allowed to it—although the validity of such a role has been questioned, for example, by the Director-General of the All-Union Book Chamber, who asserted in 1989 that demand for books in the Soviet Union was now as good as limitless, because readers could afford to buy far more publications than the industry was in any

³⁵ 'Besspornoe i spornoe' (Interview with Professor Shakhnazarov), *Zhurnal'st*, 1990, no. 1, p. 11.

³⁶ V. Malukhin, 'Samizdat—90', *Izvestiia*, 18.3.90, p. 4; V. Rakhmanov, 'Vernut' knige khoziaina', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 29.6.90, p. 6.

position to produce in the foreseeable future.³⁷ In any case, since the state retains ultimate financial control and insists upon the prioritization and allocation of limited supplies, this kind of market research cannot be left to individual publishing houses as part of their normal commercial activity. Data on reader demand and reading habits is still regarded as necessary for the management of the industry as a whole, and more systematic arrangements have been made during the years of glasnost to provide it. An Institute for the Book has been set up within the All-Union Book Chamber (the central bibliographic registration agency), incorporating a centre for the sociological study of books and reading which is intended to conduct surveys and coordinate other research relevant to the industry, and to provide a 'sociological service' to Goskompechat' as an input to policy formation.³⁸ Besides the contribution now being made by this establishment, glasnost has allowed much freer publication of findings from other groups and individuals studying users of the printed media.³⁹ One source of expertise which the authorities and the publishers may regret being unable to tap is the small group of individuals alleged to form the 'brains' (*mozgovoi tseentr*) of the black market in books, monitoring the current favourites and the shifting trends in their clients' preferences.⁴⁰

Thirdly, there is the question of whether the publisher has the discretion, the resources and the incentive to meet reader demand once it is identified. His discretion in choosing works for publication is often still circumscribed, as we have seen, by the claims of the *goszakaz*. His financial resources, paper stocks and printing facilities are still determined by higher authority, and incentives to improve profitability inevitably work in favour of certain types of publication and against others. The 'Ekonomika' publishing house, after a year at the first stage of the new economic dispensation, reported that, although the proportion of new titles making a loss had fallen from 54% to 23%, this rise in profitability resulted from a decision to publish no monograph for which less than 5,000 pre-publication orders had been received.⁴¹ Ironically, this striving by publishers after higher profits is not resulting in a noticeably greater satisfaction of reader demand. Book-trade

³⁷ Iu. V. Torsuev, 'O kontseptsii sovetskogo knigoizdaniia v sovremennykh usloviakh i perspektivakh ego razvitiia do 2000 goda', *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, no. 58 (1989), p. 11.

³⁸ S. N. Plotnikov, 'Sotsiologii knigi: problemy i perspektivy', *V mire knig*, 1986, no. 11, pp. 10–11.

³⁹ Examples are: F. E. Sheregi, 'Struktura chitatel'skikh predpochtenii', *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, 1986, no. 3, pp. 116–27; and I. S. Gol'denberg, 'Anatomiia knizhnogo defitsita', *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia*, 1987, no. 6, pp. 68–77. For some account of earlier published work on reading studies in the USSR, see G. Walker, 'Readerships in the USSR: Some Evidence from Post-War Studies', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, n.s. 19 (1986), pp. 158–73, and references there.

⁴⁰ V. Baskov, 'Chernyi rynok', *V mire knig*, 1987, no. 7, p. 29.

⁴¹ M. Kozlova, 'God raboty po-novomu', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 23.1.87, p. 2.

organs are forced by the need to meet their own turnover plans to place orders for whatever publishers produce, whether in heavy demand or not, and the consequent near-assurance of being able to sell even mediocre products to the wholesale market continues the vicious circle by weakening publishers' interest in making an accurate response to demand. An example cited in the Soviet professional press in 1990 shows the limited extent to which the levels of *tirazh* are adjusted in practice to demand as revealed by pre-publication orders.

TABLE I ⁴²

	Pre-pub. orders	<i>Tirazh</i>
<i>Published by 'Khudozhestvennaia literatura', 1989:</i>		
S. Kuniaev, <i>Izbrannoe</i> (2 vols.)	45,000	30,000
B. Akhmadullina, <i>Stikhi</i>	400,000	25,000
<i>Published by 'Sovetskii pisatel':</i>		
S. Kuniaev, <i>Mat' syra zemlia</i>	20,000	25,000
B. Akhmadullina, <i>Izbrannoe</i>	360,000	100,000

These figures can probably also be taken as evidence (among a good deal more) that publishers are still subject to less explicit pressures and incentives in their selection of what to publish and in how large an edition. Particularly in the field of belles-lettres, many accounts attest to the influence of writers' unions, or of cliques within them, being used to their members' advantage. The last chairman of Goskomizdat admitted that it was no secret that the 'literary generals' still exerted pressure on publishing houses and journal editors,⁴³ and one consequence is seen to be the continuing spate of second-rate literature, sometimes called *sekretarskaia literatura*, since officials of the writers' unions are particularly well placed to ensure that their works reach the printed page.

The Future and the Law on the Press

The Soviet publishing industry as we see it today already contrasts strikingly in some respects with the industry of only five years ago. The blight of censorship has to a great extent been dissipated, although Glavlit itself remains in being, still ready to respond—as one Soviet commentator has recently written—to the *ideologicheskaiia kon''iunktura* by slackening or tightening the screws.⁴⁴ Publishers now have greater freedom to compose

⁴² T. Zhuchkova, 'Tirazh i spros', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 2.3.90, p. 6. A rejoinder to these claims is made by G. Andzhaparidze in 'Rezonans', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 18.5.90, p. 5.

⁴³ Nenashev (note 10), p. 22.

⁴⁴ Shikman (note 7), p. 28.

their own lists and make their own microeconomic decisions, and small-scale 'informal' publishing is demonstrating a remarkable capacity for spontaneous growth with no more than the acquiescence of the authorities.

Nevertheless, important parts of the industry's long-established administrative mechanism not only remain in place and functioning but still dominate publishers' policy-making to a greater degree than any other influence, rooted as they are in the industry's planning and allocational structure. All the officially recognized publishers and printers are still subject to centrally determined financial controls and imprests, still in the position of applicants (or supplicants) for centrally allocated supplies and subsidies, and still—ultimately—cushioned by their subordinate status against those incentives and constraints which arise from a full dependence on their readers and customers for their survival. The perception of the Soviet reading public, in the words of a senior specialist in the book trade, is that 'too little has changed to speak of perestroika in publishing', and that recent years have brought only a more refined and democratic character in the variety of books which are unobtainable despite their publication, and a doubling or tripling of their prices.⁴⁵

The new Law on the Press and Media, adopted by the Supreme Soviet in June 1990, may well bring about a much more dramatic transformation in the Soviet publishing world.⁴⁶ The clauses in the Law which have attracted most attention have probably been those which forbid censorship (albeit with no effective sanctions against its imposition and with a ban on 'misuse' of the media), and the generously drawn provisions on freedom of information and journalists' rights. Yet the greatest impact on the composition of the publishing industry, and on control over it, is likely to come from another of the Law's innovations. Under this, the right to establish a mass-media organ (such as a journal or a book-publishing undertaking) may be granted to any state or social organization, religious body, cooperative, other organized group of persons, *and* to individual Soviet citizens. The right is to be available on application and subject to annual, renewable registration with (so far unspecified) state administrative organs, but the Law lays down that registration may not be used as a means of censorship, nor refused or cancelled save in specified circumstances such as those laid down in the 'misuse' clause, and any such refusal or cancellation is subject to appeal through the courts.

The principle of opening the Soviet media to a genuinely plural ownership

⁴⁵ Zhuchkova (note 42), pp. 5–6.

⁴⁶ The draft law (with proposed variants) is published as 'Zakon Soiuzu Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik o pechati i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii', *Zhurnalists*, 1990, no. 1, pp. 2–7. TASS reported adoption by the Supreme Soviet on 11.6.90, including the provision for individuals to receive publishing rights (*Report on the USSR*, 22.6.90, pp. 31–2).

has been supported by most of those speaking for writers, journalists and publishers (awaited 'like manna from Heaven', as one contributor to *Knizhnoe obozrenie* put it), although there is widespread apprehension over the likely subordination of cultural to commercial interests and over the possible rise of private monopolies,⁴⁷ and it has been pointed out that the resources which would enable groups and individuals to publish or to broadcast are still almost entirely in the hands of the state and of one political party (and that no longer constitutionally the 'leading' one), with the result that others may be forced to rely on goodwill emanating 'from above'.⁴⁸ The state and the Communist Party may well insist at the outset on allocating the lion's share of scarce resources to the established newspapers, journals and publishers under their own control. In that event, independent publishing is likely to remain a fringe activity as measured in terms of volume of output, but one founded on a relationship with its authors and readers very different from that existing between those groups and the established printed media. Independent publishing, even in those conditions, seems bound to establish itself both as the medium of the Soviet cultural vanguard and as an increasingly vital channel of scholarly and scientific communication, while remaining unable to cater for a mass readership except insofar as independent publishers can work with and influence those which remain under state and Party patronage.

The likelihood is, however, that some powerful established houses and journals, particularly those with strong alternative sponsors such as the Academy of Sciences and the writers' unions, will soon find sufficient support to allow them to withdraw from the existing state 'cartel'.⁴⁹ The establishment of the Association of Soviet Publishers, explicitly to protect publishing houses' interests under a market economy, attests to the sector's growing sense of a corporate identity independent of state and Party; and, with the Association now in being as an alternative administration-in-waiting, Goskompechat' is likely to find difficulty in denying it increasing powers as a self-governing authority for the sector.

As the industry re-forms outside overall state and Party control, in this

⁴⁷ See e.g. the response to the draft prepared by the Journalists' Union: 'Mnenie nashego Soiuza', *Zhurnalist*, 1990, no. 3, pp. 24-5.

⁴⁸ Poel' Karp, 'Garantiia nadezhdy', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 13.4.90, pp. 6, 10.

⁴⁹ One attempt to do this, even before the Press Law came into force, was reported early in 1990. The RSFSR Writers' Union proposed to the RSFSR Council of Ministers that it (the union) should set up a publishing conglomerate under its exclusive control, comprising the 'Sovremennik' and 'Detskaia literatura' publishing houses and the journals *Moskva*, *Oktiabr*', *Nash sovremennik*, *Neva* and *Literaturnaia Rossiia*. The initiative was strongly opposed as 'monopolistic' by elements in the union hostile to its conservative and allegedly anti-semitic leadership, and appears so far to have met with no success. See Poel' Karp, 'Poligon?', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 23.2.90, p. 6.

scenario, it will become far less administratively tidy as the distinctions between officially supported, cooperative and 'informal' publishing dissolve. As the issuing of printed matter grows more widely disseminated, it will become less and less amenable to the imposition of centrally determined policies, whether editorial, financial or distributive; and the point will sooner or later be reached at which official direction of the Soviet printed media will, as Chairman Efimov foresaw, have lost its reason for existence.

The New Soviet Law on the Press

W. E. Butler

A key component of glasnost, the Law of the USSR on the Press and Other Mass Media, was adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet on 12 June 1990 and entered into force as from 1 August 1990.

The decision to adopt such a law attracted considerable attention among journalists and lawyers. Early official drafts circulating were unimaginative and essentially unacceptable, not to say inconsistent with glasnost and perestroika. A group of young journalists and lawyers determined to offer their own 'alternative initiative' draft. Efforts to publish it for discussion met with obstruction until the Estonian media acted, and then were followed by a leading Moscow legal publishing house which issued a series of initiative drafts in booklet form.¹

The alternative initiative draft in due course found a sponsor willing to exercise its right of legislative initiative and introduce it formally in the USSR Supreme Soviet, where it was reviewed together with drafts emanating from other circles of government. The responsible USSR Supreme Soviet committee declared the initiative draft to be the most suitable.

From 1 August 1990 the press and mass media affected by Articles 8 and 9 of the law have been registering, a process that should have been completed by 1 January 1991. A draft law on the right of citizens to information is supposed to follow in 1991.

Although it had been hoped that the press and mass media would under the new law no longer be subjected to censorship, the USSR Council of Ministers on 24 August 1990 confirmed a Provisional Statute on the Chief Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press and Other Mass Media attached to the USSR Council of Ministers.² This new agency, known by the acronym GUOT, replaced Glavlit.

In early July 1990, only twenty-two days after the Law on the Press was enacted, the Soviet press was circulated with a document entitled 'On Changes in the "List of Information Prohibited for Publication" 1990

¹ The draft law, with commentary and an introductory explanation of the difficulties in publishing it, appears in Iu. M. Baturin, M. A. Fedotov and V. L. Entin, *Zakon o pechati i drugikh sredstvakh massovoi informatsii. Initsiativnyi avtorskii proekt* (1989).

² *Sobranie postanovlenii Pravitel'stva SSSR* (1990), no. 24, item 115. The Decree indicated that the Provisional Statute was being confirmed 'in connection with the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Law of the USSR "On the Press and Other Mass Media"'. The Decree repealed an earlier Decree of 19 November 1974, No. 880-299, which has not been published.

Edition'.³ Presumably it is this amended list which GUOT is obliged to enforce.

LAW OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS ON THE PRESS AND OTHER MASS MEDIA

[Adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, 12 June 1990. *Vedomosti S'ezda Narodnykh Deputatov i Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR* (1990), no. 26, item 492.] *

Chapter I. *General Provisions*

Article 1. Freedom of the Press

The press and other mass media shall be free.

The freedom of speech and freedom of the press guaranteed to citizens by the USSR Constitution shall mean the right to express opinions and convictions, seek, select, receive, and disseminate information and ideas in any forms, including the press and other mass media.

The censorship of mass media shall not be permitted.

Article 2. Mass Media

In the present Law mass information is understood to be publicly disseminated printed, audio, and audio-visual communications and materials.

Mass media are understood to be newspapers, journals, tele- and radio programmes, documentary films, and other periodicals for the public dissemination of mass information.

The mass media shall be represented by the editorial boards of the periodical press and tele- and radio broadcasting (or information agencies, other institutions effectuating the issuance of mass information).

Article 3. Language of Mass Media

The mass media shall effectuate their activity by using the languages of the peoples whom they service or whose interests they represent. The mass media shall have the right to disseminate mass information in other languages.

The State shall ensure the right of citizens of the USSR to use [their] mother tongue and other languages of the peoples of the USSR when receiving and disseminating mass information in accordance with legislation on the languages of peoples of the USSR.

Article 4. Production-Economic Activity

The editorial board of mass media shall be a juridical person operating on the basis of its charter.

The editorial board shall have the right to effectuate production-economic activity on conditions of economic autonomy and economic accountability.

The procedure for granting to the mass media state subsidies shall be determined by legislation of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics.

³ See A. Illesh and V. Rudnev, 'Tsenzura otmenena, tsenzory ostaiutsia: popytka retsenzii na knigu o gosudarstvennykh tainakh', *Izvestiia*, 9 October 1990, p. 3, cols. 1-5.

* Translation copyright 1990 by Professor W. E. Butler.

Article 5. Inadmissibility of Abusing Freedom of Speech

The use of the mass media to disclose information which constitutes a state or other secret specially protected by a law, to appeal for the forcible overthrow of or change in the existing state and social system, the propaganda of war, coercion, and cruelty, racial, nationality, or religious exclusivity or intolerance, or the dissemination of pornography for the purpose of committing other criminally punishable acts, shall not be permitted.

The use of the mass media for interference in the personal life of citizens and infringement on their honour and dignity shall be prohibited and shall be prosecuted in accordance with the law.

Article 6. Legislation of USSR and Union and Autonomous Republics on the Press and Other Mass Media

Legislation on the press and other mass media shall consist of the present Law and other acts of legislation of the USSR issued in accordance therewith, as well as laws and other acts of legislation on the press and other mass media of the union and autonomous republics.

Chapter II. *Organisation of Activity of Mass Media*

Article 7. Right to Found Mass Media

The right to found mass media shall belong to soviets of people's deputies and other state agencies, political parties, social organisations, mass movements, creative unions, cooperative, religious, and other associations of citizens created in accordance with a law, labour collectives, as well as citizens of the USSR who have attained eighteen years of age.

The monopolisation of any type of mass media (press, radio, television, and others) shall not be permitted.

Article 8. Registration of Mass Media

The editorial board of mass media shall effectuate their activity after registration of the respective mass media.

Applications concerning registration of mass media intended for an all-union audience shall be filed by the founders at the agencies of state administration determined by the USSR Council of Ministers, and applications concerning registration of mass media intended for a republic or local audience, at the respective executive and administrative agencies. An application concerning registration shall be subject to consideration within a month after receipt.

The registration of mass media intended for a republic or local audience may be entrusted to other state agencies by legislative acts of the union and autonomous republics.

Mass media intended for a foreign audience shall be registered at the USSR Council of Ministers or union republic council of ministers.

The right to commence the issuance of mass information shall be preserved for one year from the date of receiving a certificate. In the event this period lapses, the registration certificate shall be considered to have lost force.

Article 9. Application Concerning Registration of Mass Media

In the application concerning registration of mass media there should be specified:

- (1) the founder;
- (2) the name, language(s), and location of the mass media;

- (3) the proposed audience;
- (4) the programme purposes and tasks;
- (5) the proposed periodicity of publication, maximum size of mass media, and sources of finance.

The presentation of other demands when registering mass media shall be prohibited.

Article 10. Instances of Dissemination of Information Without Registration

Agencies of state power and administration, other state agencies for the publication of official normative and other acts, and bulletins of judicial and *arbitrazh* practice shall have the right to public dissemination of information without registration.

Enterprises, organisations, educational and scientific institutions shall have the right to create and disseminate informational materials and documentation essential for their activities without registration. Activities relating to the manufacture of printed, audio, and audio-visual products with the assistance of technical means which are not intended for public dissemination or duplication with the rights of manuscript shall not require registration.

The registration of mass media shall not be required when issuing printed products with a print run of less than 1000 copies.

Article 11. Refusal to Register Mass Media

A refusal to register mass media shall be effectuated on the following grounds only:

- (1) if the name of the mass media or its programme purposes and tasks are contrary to the provisions of Article 5, part one, of the present Law;
- (2) if a certificate has been issued previously by the registering agency to mass media with the same name;
- (3) if the application was filed before the expiry of the year from the date of entry into legal force of a decision to terminate the activity of the mass media.

A refusal to register shall be sent to the applicant in writing specifying the grounds for the refusal provided for by the present Law.

Article 12. Registration Fees

A registration fee shall be recovered for the issuance of a registration certificate in the procedure and amounts established by legislation of the USSR and the union and autonomous republics.

Article 13. Termination of Issuance or Publication of Mass Media

The termination of the issuance or publication of mass media shall be possible by decision of the founder or agency which registered the mass media, or a court.

The agency which registered the mass media or a court shall terminate the issuance or publication in the event of a second violation in the course of a year of the requirements of Article 5, paragraph one, of the present Law.

If the mass media are not issued nor published for more than one year, a new registration certificate shall be required to renew it.

In the event the founder decides to terminate the issuance or publication of mass media, the labour collective of its editorial board or the editor (or chief editor) shall have a preferential right to found mass media with the same name.

Article 14. Procedure for Appeal Against Refusal to Register Mass Media, as well as Decision to Terminate its Activity

A refusal to register mass media or a violation by a state agency of the period of a month established for registration, as well as a decision to terminate the activity of

mass media, may be appealed by the founder or by the editorial board to a court and shall be considered by the court, including property disputes, in the procedure provided for by civil procedure legislation.

The deeming of a refusal to register mass media or of a decision to terminate its activity to be contrary to law shall entail the repeal of the decisions appealed. The repeal of the decision to terminate the activity of the mass media shall entail compensation of losses incurred by the founder, editorial board, and publisher, including lost revenues.

Article 15. Founder, Editor, Editorial Board, and Publisher of Mass Media

The founder shall confirm the programme (or basic principles) of the activities of the mass media. The editorial board or other institution issuing the mass information shall realise the programme on the basis of professional independence.

The editor (or editor-in-chief) shall be appointed and relieved by the founder of the mass media or elected and relieved in the procedure provided for by the editorial charter. The editor (or editor-in-chief) shall direct the work of the editorial college and the editorial board of the mass media and represent it in relations with the founder, publisher, authors, state agencies, social organisations, and other associations of citizens, and with citizens, as well as in court.

The editor (or editor-in-chief) shall bear responsibility for the fulfillment of requirements placed upon the activities of the mass media on the basis of the present Law and other acts of legislation.

The editorial college shall be formed in the procedure provided for by the editorial charter. The chairman of the editorial college shall be the editor (or editor-in-chief).

The founder, and likewise the publishing house or other juridical person effectuating the material-technical supply for the production (or printing, issuance) of mass information, may act as the publisher of the mass media.

Article 16. Editorial Charter of Mass Media

The editorial charter of mass media shall be adopted at the general meeting of the collective of journalists of the editorial board by a majority vote when not less than two-thirds of its membership is present and shall be confirmed by the founder.

The editorial charter shall regulate the relations of the founder, editor (or editor-in-chief), and editorial board, and the powers of the collective of journalists. Provisions concerning the procedure for the distribution and use of revenue received from the activities of the mass media and other provisions shall be included in the charter.

The editorial charter must not be contrary to legislation.

Article 17. Production, Property, and Financial Relations of Founder, Editorial Board, and Publisher of Mass Media

The production, property, and financial relations of the founder, editorial board, and publisher of mass media shall be structured on the basis of prevailing legislation and a contract.

There shall be determined by contract:

the assets for the maintenance of the editorial board;

the portion of the revenue (or profit) from the activities of the mass media which is at the disposition of the editorial board, founder, and publisher;

the obligations of the founder and publisher with regard to ensuring the proper production and socio-domestic living and labour conditions of editorial board personnel;

other provisions.

Article 18. Publication Data

Every issue of a periodical printed publication must contain the following information:

- (1) name of the publication;
- (2) founder;
- (3) surname and initials of the editor (or editor-in-chief);
- (4) consecutive number of the issue and date of publication for periodical publications, and for newspapers, also the time of signature to press;
- (5) post code number for periodical publications disseminated through post office enterprises;
- (6) size of print run;
- (7) price (when publication is commercially distributed);
- (8) address of editorial board, publisher, and printing house.

Whenever broadcast, and in the event of uninterrupted broadcasting, not less than four times every twenty-four hours, the editorial board of a tele- or radio broadcast shall be obliged to announce the name of the editorial board of the tele- or radio broadcast.

Article 19. Deposit and Compulsory Copies

Deposit copies of periodical printed publications shall, immediately upon printing, be sent free of charge to the All-Union Book Chamber, the Lenin State Library, the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, the founder, and the agency which issued the registration certificate of the particular printed publication.

Deposit and compulsory copies of printed works also shall be sent to other institutions and organisations in the procedure determined by the USSR Council of Ministers and the union and autonomous republic councils of ministers.

Article 20. Keeping of Materials of Tele- and Radio Broadcasts

The editorial boards of tele- and radio broadcasting shall be obliged to keep materials of broadcasts for one month after the broadcast and to keep registration logs of live broadcasts in which are recorded the subject of the broadcast, the data, the time of commencement and ending, and the surname and forename of the presenter. The registration log of such broadcasts shall be kept for a year from the date of the last entry therein.

Chapter III. Dissemination of Mass Information

Article 21. Procedure for Dissemination of Mass Media Products

The dissemination of mass media products shall be effectuated by the publisher directly or on contract with other legal bases by postal enterprises, other organisations, as well as by citizens.

The dissemination of mass media products without specifying publication data shall be prohibited.

Article 22. Authorisation to Disseminate Mass Information

The dissemination of each individual issue (with publication data) of a mass media product shall be permitted only after the editor (or editor-in-chief) has given permission for publication (or broadcast).

The print run of a periodical printed publication shall be determined by the editor (or editor-in-chief) by agreement with the publisher.

The obstruction of the dissemination of a mass media product being effectuated on

legal grounds, including by confiscating the print run or part thereof, shall not be permitted other than on the basis of a court decision which has entered into legal force.

Article 23. Official Communications

The mass media founded by agencies of state power and administration shall be obliged to publish official communications of those agencies.

The editorial board shall be obliged to publish free of charge and within the specified period the decision of a court or agency of State Arbitrazh which has entered into legal force containing an instruction to publish that decision through the said mass media.

Chapter IV. *Relations of Mass Media with Citizens and Organisations*

Article 24. Right to Receive Information through Mass Media

Citizens shall have the right to receive efficiently through the mass media reliable information concerning the activities of state agencies, social organisations, and officials.

The mass media shall have the right to obtain such information from state agencies, social organisations, and officials. State agencies, social associations, and officials shall grant to the mass media available information and the possibility of familiarising themselves with documents.

A refusal to grant the information requested may be appealed by the representative of the mass media to the superior agency or official, and then to a court in the procedure provided for by legislation for appealing the illegal actions of agencies of state administration and officials impinging the rights of citizens.

Article 25. Use of Authors' Materials and Letters

The use of the works of journalism, literature, art, and science by the mass media shall be permitted when copyright is complied with.

No one shall have the right to oblige the mass media to publish material rejected by the editorial board unless provided otherwise by law.

When publishing letters of readers, abridgement and editing of the text thereof shall be permitted without distorting the sense of the letters.

Article 26. Right to Refutation and Reply

A citizen or organisation shall have the right to demand from the editorial board of a mass media the refutation of published information which does not correspond to reality and defames his honour and dignity.

A citizen or organisation with respect to whom information has been published in the mass media which impinges upon their rights and legal interests shall have the right to publication of his reply in the same mass media.

The refutation or reply shall be published under a special rubric or in the same column and type as the communication being refuted: in newspapers, not later than a month from the date of receiving the demand; and in other periodical publications, in the next issue being prepared.

The refutation or reply shall be read out by the announcer on the radio or television in the same programme or cycle of broadcasts and at the same time not later than a month from the date of receiving the demand. The right of reply may be granted also to the citizen or representative of the organisation which demanded publication of the reply.

The editorial board shall be obliged to publish a reply of up to one page in length of standard typescript. Editing of the text of the reply shall not be permitted.

Article 27. Consideration by Court of Application concerning Publication of Refutation or Reply

In the event of a refusal to publish a refutation or reply or of a violation by the mass media of the period of a month established for such publication, the interested citizen or organisation shall have the right to apply to a court within one year from the date of publication.

The court shall consider the application concerning publication of a refutation or reply by the editorial board of the mass media in the procedure provided by civil procedure legislation.

Article 28. Special Instances of Not Disclosing Information

The editorial board of a mass media or a journalist shall not have the right to:

- (1) name a person who has provided information on condition of non-disclosure of his name, except for instances when this is required by a court;
- (2) disclose data of a preliminary investigation without the written authorisation of a procurator, investigator, or person performing the inquiry;
- make known any information which may lead to indicating the identity of a minor offender without his consent and the consent of his legal representative;
- (3) predetermine in his reports the results of a judicial examination with regard to a specific case or otherwise influence a court before the entry of a decision or judgement into legal force.

Chapter V. *Rights and Duties of a Journalist*

Article 29. Journalist

By journalist in the present Law shall be understood a person who engages in the collection, creation, editing, or preparation of materials for the mass media connected with him by labour or other contractual relations or who engages in such activity upon its authorisation.

Article 30. Rights of a Journalist

A journalist shall have the right to:

- (1) seek, receive, and disseminate information;
- (2) be accepted by an official in connection with the effectuation of professional journalistic duties;
- (3) make any recordings, including with the use of audio-visual equipment and photography, except for instances provided for by law;
- (4) upon the presentation of a journalist's card, be present in areas of natural disasters, meetings, and demonstrations;
- (5) have recourse to specialists when verifying facts and circumstances in connection with materials received;
- (6) refuse to create materials over his signature which are contrary to his beliefs;
- (7) remove his signature from material whose content, in his view, was distorted in the process of editorial preparation;
- (8) stipulate secrecy of authorship.

A journalist shall also enjoy other rights granted him in accordance with the present Law.

Article 31. Accreditation of Journalists

Mass media may, by agreement with state agencies and organs of social associations, accredit journalists attached to them.

Agencies to whom a journalist has been accredited shall be obliged to notify him in advance about sessions, conferences, and other measures and to provide verbatim transcripts, protocols, and other documents.

Article 32. Duties of a Journalist

A journalist shall be obliged to:

- (1) effectuate the programme of activities of the mass media with which he is in labour relations and be guided by the editorial charter;
- (2) verify the reliability of information communicated to him;
- (3) satisfy requests of persons who have given information about indicating their authorship if such information is made public for the first time;
- (4) refuse commissions given him by the editor (or editor-in-chief) or editorial board if they are connected with a violation of law;
- (5) respect the rights, legal interests, and national dignity of citizens and the rights and legal interests of organisations.

A journalist shall also bear other duties arising from the present Law.

Chapter VI. *International Cooperation in Domain of Mass Information*

Article 33. International Treaties and Agreements

International cooperation in the domain of mass information shall be effectuated on the basis of international treaties concluded by the USSR and union republics.

If other rules have been established by an international treaty of the USSR than those which are contained in the present Law, the rules of the international treaty shall be applied.

The mass media, professional organisations of journalists, and other creative unions shall participate in international cooperation in the domain of mass information and may for these purposes conclude agreements with foreign citizens and organisations.

Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to access to information through foreign sources, including direct television broadcasts, radio broadcasts, and the press.

Article 34. Activities of Representatives of Foreign Mass Media, Diplomatic, and Other Representatives of Foreign States in the USSR

The legal status and professional activities of foreign correspondents accredited in the USSR and other representatives of foreign mass media, as well as the information activities of diplomatic, consular, and other official representations of foreign states in the USSR, shall be regulated by legislation of the USSR and union republics and by respective international treaties of the USSR and union republics.

Chapter VII. *Responsibility for Violation of Legislation on the Press and Other Mass Media*

Article 35. Grounds of Responsibility for Violation of Legislation on the Press and Other Mass Media

The abuse of freedom of speech, the dissemination of information defaming the honour and dignity of a citizen or organisation which does not correspond to reality, and the influence of journalists on a court shall entail criminal, administrative, or

other responsibility in accordance with legislation of the USSR and union republics.

Responsibility also may be established for other violations of legislation on the press and other mass media by legislation of the USSR and union republics.

Responsibility for a violation of legislation on the press and other mass media shall be borne by the officials of state and social agencies guilty thereof, as well as by the editorial board and editor (or editor-in-chief) of the mass media, and the authors of disseminated communications and materials.

Article 36. Inadmissibility of Interference in Activities of Mass Media

The obstructing on the part of officials of state and social agencies of the legal professional activities of journalists or the compelling of journalists to disseminate or refuse to disseminate information shall entail criminal responsibility and shall be punished by a fine of up to 500 rubles.

Article 37. Responsibility for Illegal Manufacture and Dissemination of Mass Information

The manufacture and dissemination of mass media products without registering them in accordance with the present Law or after a decision to terminate the issuance or publication thereof shall entail administrative responsibility in the form of a fine of up to 500 rubles imposed by a people's judge, with confiscation of the print run of a printed or other product.

A second commission of the violation in the course of a year provided for by paragraph one of the present Article shall entail criminal responsibility and shall be punished by a fine of up to 1000 rubles, with or without confiscation of the technical means belonging to the guilty person and used to manufacture and disseminate information.

Article 38. Instances of Relief from Responsibility for Dissemination of Information Not Corresponding to Reality

The editor (or editor-in-chief), and likewise a journalist, shall not bear responsibility for the dissemination of information in the mass media which does not correspond to reality if:

- (1) such information was contained in official communications;
- (2) it was received from information agencies or press services of state and social agencies;
- (3) it was a verbatim reproduction of a speech of people's deputies at congresses and sessions of soviets, delegates of congresses, conferences, and plenums of social organisations, as well as official speeches of officials of state and social agencies;
- (4) it was contained in remarks by the author in broadcasts not pre-recorded or in texts not subject to editing in accordance with the present Law.

Article 39. Compensation of Moral Harm

Moral (non-property) harm caused to a citizen as a result of the dissemination of information by mass media which does not correspond to reality and defames the honour and dignity of a citizen or causes other non-property harm to him shall be compensated, by decision of a court, by the mass media, as well as by the guilty officials and citizens. The amount of compensation for moral (non-property) harm shall be determined by the court in money.

Perestroika in Soviet Archives? Glasnost, Archival Reform and Researcher Access *

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted

Recent years in the USSR have seen an astounding new public awareness of problems of archives. When I presented a report on 'Glasnost in the Archives?' in November 1988, the Soviet commentator N. N. Bolkhovitinov appropriately reprimanded the programme editors for leaving off the question mark in the title of my paper in the printed programme.¹ The question mark duly appeared in the published version. Events have developed so rapidly in the USSR that today a considerably greater degree of glasnost has indeed come to the Soviet archival scene than was the case two years ago, both in terms of archival access and of open discussion of archival reform. But glasnost in a country that has never known a Bill of Rights or the democratic rule of law is still a long way from Western conditions, and could be reversed tomorrow if the crackdown of January 1991 becomes more general, as many fear. As to significant perestroika, a bold question mark must remain.

Scholars who have worked in Soviet archives before 1988 would hardly recognize the situation today. During my lengthy visits in the USSR during 1990, almost every foreign scholar I met had some new archival breakthrough to report. Two different Canadian exchange professors were amazed to be working in the pre-revolutionary archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—the Archive of Russian Foreign Policy (AVPR)—the day after arrival in Moscow, including open access to inventories. An American professor was being shown top-secret documents from the Central State Archive of the Soviet Army (TsGASA). In the tightly restricted Central Party Archive, while a leading British scholar was being shown draft Party resolutions from the 1930s, an American professor was working with more materials than he could cope with relating to educational policy in the 1920s

* An expanded and updated version of Dr Grimsted's Harrogate presentation. A longer version of this article will appear in two parts as 'Perestroika in the Archives? Further Efforts at Soviet Archival Reform', *American Archivist* 54 (Winter 1991), and 'Perestroika and Intellectual Access to Soviet Archives? What Is to Be Done?', *American Archivist* 54 (Summer 1991).

¹ That paper, which covered developments in the USSR through the end of 1988, was published in a revised version as 'Glasnost in the Archives? Recent Developments on the Soviet Archival Scene', *American Archivist* 52 (Spring 1989), pp. 214–36. The commentary by Nikolai Nikolaevich Bolkhovitinov appeared in *American Archivist* 53 (Summer 1990), pp. 469–70, followed by responses from B. S. Ilizarov and S. V. Zhitomirskaya (pp. 470–76). The editors requested a response from Glavarkhiv, but none was forthcoming. A pre-publication version of the present article has also been sent to Glavarkhiv, with a further invitation to respond.

and 30s.² And a published article in the summer of 1990 announced 'the opening of the personal papers (*fondy*) of Stalin, Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinov'ev, Raskol'nikov and Radek for a wide range of researchers'.³

Meanwhile, in the hitherto even more tightly controlled state archives of the Ukraine, an independent American Ukrainian researcher with no Soviet academic ties was being shown all available relevant files from the formerly top-secret personal archive of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi, the last revered leader of the recently revived Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. And in exchange, the archivist who headed the secret section of the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv spent a month in the United States to report on the newly opened *fondy* of so-called 'bourgeois nationalist' individuals and organizations in that archive. In January 1990 a delegation from the U.S. Holocaust Museum was welcomed in Kiev and Kharkiv and shown Nazi occupation records, which six months earlier were still tightly closed or else reported non-existent, including a major cache of records from the infamous Rosenberg command (*Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg*) operations in occupied areas of the USSR, captured by Soviet authorities in Silesia in 1945, but hitherto not known to be extant in Kiev. In the spring in Moscow, the same Holocaust programme was given a private work room in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution (TsGAOR SSSR) to prepare microfilms with an American paid assistant working daily in cooperation with TsGAOR archivists and other consultants from Israel, and in the autumn of 1990 they completed microfilming operations with relatively few restrictions in Minsk and Kiev.

Joint archival projects are springing up everywhere. A graduate student from Ohio State University has set up a database system in the Moscow municipal archive to input full archival inventories relating to the peasantry in the pre-revolutionary Moscow *guberniia*, and another collaborative database is being established at the Moscow State Historico-Archival Institute (MGIAI) for data on individuals repressed in the Stalin purges of the 1930s. Several joint projects between the Ukrainian Research Institute of Harvard University and the Archeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences are underway in Kiev and Moscow involving extensive publications of hitherto restricted historical documents relating to Ukrainian history and culture, and a computerized database for the preparation of basic archival finding aids. A Dutch microform publisher has camera units operating in

² According to IREX data for the academic year 1989–1990, at least five American scholars have been admitted for research in the Central Party Archive under the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow, and two scholars were admitted to the Komsomol archive.

³ E. N. Shepelev, 'Tsentral'nyi partiinyi arkhiv otkryvaet svoi fondy (informatsiia dlia issledovatel'ia)', *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1990, no. 4, pp. 19–31. The article includes a brief characterization of each *fond*.

Moscow and Leningrad, including some extensive projects involving manuscript collections and archives. Even the formerly closed or non-existent subject of genealogy has opened up for serious archival endeavors: a delegation of American genealogical specialists under the auspices of the U.S.–Soviet Commission on Archival Cooperation visited the USSR in March in an effort to organize a new clearing house and streamline procedures for genealogical inquiries from abroad for Soviet archives.⁴

There are still noticeable hold-outs of a closed society. Within the Glavarkhiv system, the first mention ever of the top-secret Central State Archive of the USSR, which predominantly houses captured records from the Second World War, appeared in a sensational series 'Five Days in the Special Archive', in *Izvestiia* in February 1990.⁵ Incredible as it is that Soviet authorities would keep the lid on these high-level Nazi records for forty-five years, when counterpart records held in the West have been extensively published on microfilm, access to them is far from open.⁶

Post-revolutionary archives of the Foreign Ministry have seen little change in general access policies, and the Central Archive of the Ministry of Defence (TsAMO) in Podols'k outside Moscow remains an even more fervent hold-out of the old order. There is no glasnost whatsoever for research possibilities in the archives of the KGB, although journalists have been invited for a television interview in the Liubianka headquarters. Some hidden documents about repressed individuals have been making their way into the public press, and there were some encouraging reports from Ukraine during the summer of 1990 that the KGB did release a few archives of suppressed literary figures that were long thought to have been lost forever.⁷ In Lithuania, at the end of January 1990, the destruction of KGB archives and their transport to Moscow was finally openly admitted—and at least temporarily halted—following extensive protests in the Lithuanian parliament and a lengthy, massive vigil in Vilnius.⁸ Much more surprising—and

⁴ On the changed situation with regard to genealogical research in the USSR, see Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Glasnost' and Babushkas—New Horizons for Genealogical Research in the USSR', *Heritage Quest* 28 (April/May 1990), pp. 38–43, and 29 (June/July 1990), pp. 35–39.

⁵ 'Piat' dnei v Osobom arkhive', *Izvestiia*, 16–20 February 1990.

⁶ Glavarkhiv director F. M. Vaganov personally assured the present author that access could be arranged without problem, but despite the appropriate official letters on behalf of a joint Soviet–American project, such access had yet to be arranged by late 1990.

⁷ See the newspaper reports of the receipt by the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences from the KGB of an important group of papers of the Ukrainian political and literary figure Volodymyr Vynnychenko: 'V KDB URSR: Dokumenty peredano instytutovi', *Vechnoi Kyiv*, 29 June 1990, and 'Pryiemna nespodivanka', *Radians'ka Ukraina*, 8 July 1990.

⁸ See the reports of the protests and the vigil—with over 2,000 demonstrators—in the daily U.S. Foreign Broadcast Information Service reports, FBIS-SOV-90-017 (25 January 1990), p. 75; 90-018 (26 January 1990), p. 62; and 90-019 (29 January 1990), p. 83.

exasperating—there is still no sign of glasnost in the Manuscript Division of the Lenin Library, in an unbelievable about-face from the unusually open policies and normal working conditions that researchers—Soviet and foreign alike—experienced there before 1978.⁹ After considerable outcry from Soviet cultural and academic leaders, a high-level commission of experts was appointed by the Council of Ministers to study the situation; their scathing report on the unprofessional conditions they found there still awaits publication.¹⁰

Despite continuing restrictions in some important archives of the post-revolutionary period, and especially for the Second World War, there has been tremendous progress in normalization of access to Soviet state archives. Yet there is still a long way to go before general research conditions and access procedures resemble those in the West.

Access procedures still involve many of the same bureaucratic complexities they have in the past, but there have been some important changes in connection with the general decentralization of authority and the lessening of the role of Glavarkhiv. According to the latest printed Glavarkhiv regulations, visiting researchers still need a Soviet academic institutional sponsor for archival access, although there has been an increase in exceptions to this rule.¹¹ Applications for foreign access to archives in the union republics no longer have to go through Glavarkhiv in Moscow, and republic-level archives are free to correspond directly abroad, set up their own foreign exchange accounts for foreign microfilm orders and genealogical inquiries, and operate with an autonomy that was inconceivable before 1989.

Working conditions within many archives have improved tremendously for foreigners in the last two years. Most dramatically in Moscow, during the academic year 1989–1990, the infamous Glavarkhiv foreigners' reading room (colloquially dubbed the 'quarantine room') was abandoned. Thus foreigners now work directly alongside their Soviet colleagues in the regular reading

⁹ The reactionary situation in the Lenin Library Manuscript Division was the subject of a series of articles in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, which are cited in Grimsted, 'Glasnost' (note 1), pp. 228–30. See also the more detailed discussion of these problems in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *A Handbook for Archival Research in the USSR* (Washington, D.C., 1989), pp. 136–39.

¹⁰ Copies of the report have been circulated for discussion in Moscow academic and cultural circles: 'Zakliuchenie gruppy ekspertov, obrazovannoi v sootvetstvii s rasporiasheniem Soveta Ministrov SSSR ot 28 dekabria 1989 g. No 2257 dlia izucheniia sovremennogo sostoianiia i perspektiv razvitiia otdela rukopisei GBL'. A copy was available for consultation in the office of the Division of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The report has not been published, while the Manuscript Division staff, who refused to cooperate with the investigation, have subsequently been attempting to discredit the commission.

¹¹ *Pravila raboty issledovatelei v chital'nykh zalakh gosudarstvennykh arkhivov SSSR*. Odobreny kollegiei Glavarkhiva SSSR 18.09.89, prikaz Glavarkhiva SSSR No 64 ot 29.09.89 (Moscow, 1990). Previously, separate editions of such rules were issued for Soviet and foreign readers.

rooms for Soviet state archives, and they experience more directly the many serious problems and lack of perestroika that beset Soviet archives. In May, for example, TsGAOR SSSR was forced to close to researchers for several days when the head of the reading room retired and the rest of the reading room staff all resigned in protest against their low pay and difficult working conditions. During July 1990, its reading room was only open four hours a day, and the ten-item-per-day limit was strictly in force. It was back to eight hours per day by the fall of 1990, but TsGAOR can still only provide minimal reader services, in a period when more and more researchers are demanding immediate access to more and more documents.

Most important with regard to research access, foreigners are at last allowed to use unpublished finding aids—the all-important basic inventories (*opisi*), which provide item-level description within individual *fondy*—as well as other available card catalogues and reference materials. The earlier restrictive practice, whereby only the all-knowing archivist could choose what materials were relevant to a given research project, and hence what a researcher would be shown, has been abandoned. The new practice started slowly in 1988 on a trial in some archives, but has now become standard. Foreigners are now permitted normal professional contacts and consultations with individual archivists, and archivists are starting to be more honest and responsive in their dealings with foreigners.

On the down side, copying services for readers remain totally inadequate. Although quality xeroxes in limited quantities can be ordered in most state archives with some delay, most archives do not have their own xerox facility. Laboratory facilities serving all of the central state archives in Moscow were so backlogged in 1990 that individual microfilm orders in a major repository such as TsGAOR SSSR are now limited to one hundred frames per year. Simultaneously, diminished archival budgets and the demands of self-financing (*khozraschet*) on a national scale have led state archives to impose staggering fees for photocopying orders they cannot fulfil. Soviet archives in their new commercial spirit are now extracting ‘copyright’ fees that can add anywhere from three to ten rubles (depending on the archive’s evaluation of the documents being copied) to the cost of filming a single document, even if the actual copying may be done by an outside firm or photographer.¹² Many state archives have gone a step further to seek much-needed *valiuta* and have signed contracts with new ‘cooperative’ (i.e. private-enterprise) ventures to

¹² The present author and a Soviet colleague were charged 2,400 rubles as copyright fees for a recent order placed in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the Ukrainian SSR (TsDAZhR URSR) for an order of xerox copies from eighteen file units, needed for a project to be published in Kiev, from World War II Nazi occupation records that had been captured by Soviet forces in Poland and Czechoslovakia after the war. The copying itself came to a more modest 300 rubles.

perform copying services—and in some cases for genealogical and other reference service requests as well.¹³

Compared to what we have known in the past, however, general research conditions for foreigners are evidence of increasing glasnost on the Soviet archival scene, but does this really add up to perestroika in the realm of Soviet archives? For the most part, the answer to this question still has to be a negative one, as was explained in an insightful article by the former head of the Manuscript Division of the Lenin Library, Sara Vladimirovna Zhitomirskaia, in *Literaturnaia gazeta* in July 1989.¹⁴ Discussion covered the lack of basic archival reform in terms of the enactment of a law regulating archival practices, the problem of appraisal and choice of materials for permanent storage, and the inadequacy of the archival reference system. Increasing glasnost?—yes, but perestroika?—not yet.

Archival Reform

There has been much *talk* about perestroika in the realm of archives, as in so many other aspects of the Soviet state and society. The public is beginning to recognize that archives, which preserve the documentary heritage of the nation, serve a vital cultural function in society and need to be freed from the effects of earlier longtime prime association with the security organs and their earlier prime functions of controlling information, promoting Communist Party goals, and searching for internal enemies of the regime. It is generally recognized that the achievements of archival declassification, the possibilities of research in hitherto banned topics, and the increased public access to documents and finding aids during several years of glasnost could quickly be reversed because they still have no juridical basis, and many of the gains are still dependent on *ad hoc* decisions of a particular archival official. In the course of more open public discussion of the past few years, all sides agree that a basic law on Soviet archives is needed to give a juridical basis to a system hitherto governed only by vague decrees and administrative regulations.¹⁵ A basic law governing archives has in fact been on the drawing boards since 1987 and came into public attention and open press discussion

¹³ A recent advertisement in the *Newsletter* of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (January 1991, p. 29) offered to supply microfilm and xerox copies from Soviet state archives at an average cost of '\$1 per page plus a \$50 per order for handling and shipping'. Another cooperative in Moscow was reportedly offering to perform genealogical searches for a fee of approximately \$500 with no guarantee of success.

¹⁴ S. V. Zhitomirskaia, 'Delo ne tol'ko v sekretnosti', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 20 July 1989, p. 3. Responses to the Zhitomirskaia article by V. P. Kozlov, N. N. Bolkhovitinov, and P. K. Grimsted appeared in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 16 August 1989, p. 5.

¹⁵ Earlier decrees and regulations are mentioned in Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Lenin's Archival Decree of 1918: The Bolshevik Legacy for Soviet Archival Theory and Practice', *American Archivist* 45, no. 4 (fall 1982), pp. 429–43, and in the introductory chapter in Grimsted, *Handbook* (note 9), pp. 3–55.

early in 1988.¹⁶ Since then, discussion of archival reform has become increasingly heated.

From the start of discussion, Glavarkhiv has been trying to reform itself, if increasingly only to preserve its existence against the onslaught of criticism from within and outside its ranks. Archival authorities within Glavarkhiv and its various departments have drafted and discussed a series of versions of an archival law, culminating in what they presented as a relatively definitive draft, dated 4 November 1989, issued in 1,000 copies with an introductory note signed by the current Glavarkhiv director, Fedor Mikhailovich Vaganov, promising future publication for public discussion.¹⁷

Dissatisfaction with present conservative Glavarkhiv leadership and many aspects of the archival law proposed by Glavarkhiv had led earlier in 1989 to the formation of an alternative 'initiative group' consisting of a number of concerned and reform-oriented archivists, historians, and jurists, led by Professor Boris Semenovich Ilizarov.¹⁸ The group found institutional support from the Moscow State Historico-Archival Institute, the principal university-level training ground for archivists, which has been the centre of the movement for archival reform, since the appointment of Iurii Afanas'ev as rector at the end of 1986. An initial draft of their alternative proposed archival law was circulated widely during the summer of 1989, and then published for open discussion in the October 1989 issue of a monthly journal of the Academy of Sciences.¹⁹ Although the Glavarkhiv draft was not openly published, criticism of both variants came from within Glavarkhiv itself in a 'round table' which appeared in the first issue of *Sovetskie arkhivy* for 1990, and which was addressed most directly and most critically by Tsaplin, director of the Central State Archive of the National Economy (TsGANKh):

The official project for the Law on Archives, in both form and content, in principle intricately strengthens the status quo in archival affairs. In it, aside from defining the terms for restricting access to documents, there is nothing essentially new to reflect contemporary tendencies ... which would strengthen the participation of society in the administration of archival affairs. The alternative variant of the Law, formulated especially by MGIAI, is divorced from life. It overflows with the obligations of archives before society and citizens, but does not establish the right to safeguard archival affairs and the State Archival Fond of the USSR. It

¹⁶ See Grimsted, 'Glasnost' (note 1), pp. 218–21.

¹⁷ *Zakon Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik ob arkhivnom fonde SSSR*, ed. F. M. Vaganov (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, 1989).

¹⁸ See, for example, B. Ilizarov, 'Ob arkhivakh i tainoi bor'be za sokhranenie ikh "tain"', *Ogonek*, 1989, no. 2, pp. 10–11. Earlier discussion of archival reform and articles by Ilizarov and others are cited in Grimsted, 'Glasnost' (note 1), pp. 118–21.

¹⁹ Iu. M. Baturin, M. A. Fedotov, and V. L. Entin, 'Glasnost' i arkhivy. Variant zakonodatel'nogo resheniia', *Vestnik Akademii nauk SSSR*, 1989, no. 10, p. 75, followed by 'Zakon SSSR ob arkhivnom dele i arkhivakh. Initsiativnyi avtorskii proekt', pp. 76–87.

requires a great deal of state archives, but in return it gives almost nothing.

Tsaplin went on to make some more concrete suggestions regarding principles and structure for archival affairs and emphasized the need 'to reinforce the right of every citizen (on his own recognizance) and institution to acquaint themselves with documents of interest to them unless they constitute state or military secrets' and that such 'use should remain free of charge'.²⁰

An important meeting under the auspices of the Division of History of the Academy of Sciences in January 1990 was devoted to discussion of the two projected drafts, with the principal sponsors of both drafts participating. Most of the Academy institutes represented expressed strong preference for the alternative version, but the severe problems and deficiencies in each of them raised by participants in that discussion made immediate reconciliation impossible. Subsequent debate took a more bitter, personal turn, as substantive discussion of the reform proposals was pushed to the background, and Glavarkhiv defensively answered the challenges in the January meeting with a brutal attack on the MGIAI archival reform activities, initially published anonymously as the first 1990 issue of the restricted in-house bulletin of Glavarkhiv, and then in a slightly amended version, under the ironic title '“Foremen for Perestroika” of Archival Affairs', in *Sovetskie arkhivy*.²¹ The article, generally attributed to Glavarkhiv director Vaganov, unabashedly points to Afanas'ev, Ilizarov, and other participants in the MGIAI reform efforts as virtual enemies of perestroika in terms previously never encountered on the pages of the official Glavarkhiv journal.

Glavarkhiv complained about three major MGIAI-led operations, each of which deserve serious separate consideration, but can only be mentioned here. The first MGIAI offence was the support of the alternative initiative project for an archival law; the article notes a few steps and stages in the project, and further criticizes the published interview with Professor Ilizarov on the subject.²² The second MGIAI offence was the formation in 1990 of the new All-Union Independent Association of Historians and Archivists, with the aim of seeking improvements in the archival realm and in working conditions for archivists, which held its first conference in June 1990. The third offence, according to Glavarkhiv, was the establishment of the so-called 'People's Archive', opened officially in December 1988 and now housed in

²⁰ V. V. Tsaplin and L. V. Dvoinykh, as quoted in 'Arkhiy i perestroika: "Kruglyi stol" zhurnala', *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1990, no. 1, pp. 19–20.

²¹ 'Perestroika arkhivnogo dela—ego sozdanie, a ne razrushenie', published as *Biulleten' Glavarkhiva*, 1990, no. 1. '“Proraby perestroiki” arkhivnogo dela: kto oni i chto delaiut?', *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1990, no. 2, pp. 46–57.

²² See the interview with Ilizarov in *Sobesednik*, 1989, no. 34 (August), p. 10.

the building next door to MGIAI. This new archive, which has received some funding from the Soros Foundation, is obviously, both in principle and operation, a direct challenge to the Glavarkhiv system, and most particularly to its appraisal and retention policies. The archive has as its purpose the collection and preservation of archival materials now overlooked by other archives, such as the records of unofficial social organizations, letters to the editors of newspapers and magazines, and documents of a more private character. The concerns expressed by the archive have found a particularly favorable public reception during the period of glasnost, when the records of many important social and political elements are ignored by other existing archives.²³ For example, the archive has already accessioned important papers, ranging from papers of the conservative nationalist group Pamiat' to those of dissidents, and independent publications.

The total effect of this reform challenge to Glavarkhiv authority was too much for the current leadership. 'What does all this mean?', the Glavarkhiv text demands sarcastically,

—What role is MGIAI beginning to play in the archival affairs of the country?

—Will they continue to educate archivists as in the past?

—Or perhaps MGIAI is considering setting up a 'New Centre' for the organization of 'new' archival affairs in the country?

... Generally, and above all, workers of state archives want to know: what is happening to the level of archives with the help and direction of MGIAI?²⁴

The rhetorical questions were phrased, as so often occurs in official Soviet writings, in the name of the vast collective—in this case as if the 'workers of state archives' speak with a single voice. What the article—and most particularly the version published in *Sovetskie arkhivy*—did not reveal was the tremendous dissatisfaction and labour unrest in the ranks of state archives, which, for example, led to serious strikes in Tula and Lviv in January 1990, and lesser slow-down strikes in many other archival institutions. The Glavarkhiv brochure further criticized MGIAI for its support of the Tula unrest and hence blamed MGIAI for 'destabilization of the situation and disorganization of work of institutions of the state archival service of the USSR'. There was also no hint in either version of the labour unrest at Glavarkhiv's own back door, such as was expressed in the

²³ See, for example, the published accounts of the new archive by B. S. Ilizarov: 'Narodnyi arkhiv', *Rodina*, 1989, no. 89, p. 96, and in an interview (with N. Belov), 'Zachem Narodu arkhiv?', *Moskovskii avtotransportnik*, 1989, no. 29 (20–26 July), p. 13. Thanks to Professor Ilizarov and his staff for arranging a tour of the facility, when I was accompanied by a delegation of American archivists in May 1990.

²⁴ 'Perestroika arkhivnogo dela' (note 21), p. 5, and 'Proraby perestroika' (note 21), p. 46.

resolution of archivists in the Central State Archive of the National Economy (TsGANKh SSSR) in Moscow at the end of January, which complained bitterly about the miserable pay and working conditions of archivists, inadequate archival facilities, and other serious problems. Its forthright expression of 'distrust in the management of Glavarkhiv, which is standing aloof from the process of perestroika in archival affairs' culminated in the demand for 'the resignation of Glavarkhiv director, Comrade F. M. Vaganov'.²⁵ Read in the context of such demands and developments, the Glavarkhiv tract does indeed appear aloof when it affirms: 'To be sure, [the MGIAI activities] do not receive the absolute support of most Soviet archivists, and most particularly those among their ranks who reject the elements of destabilization and disorganization that contribute to the completely abnormal moral and political situation.'²⁶

Such a stand on the part of the Glavarkhiv leadership added fuel to the fire. After the *Sovetskie arkhivy* issue appeared, the MGIAI Scholarly Council formally adopted a resolution of protest against this Glavarkhiv publication on 15 May, suggesting that the Glavarkhiv publication 'does not assist the analysis of the problem of perestroika in archival affairs and even impedes it', and affirmed the need to respond publicly to the attacks.²⁷ Not surprisingly, such response was not invited in *Sovetskie arkhivy*.²⁸ Six months after the January discussion, the draft law proposed by the alternative group appeared in pamphlet form in a widely circulated edition of 5,000 copies, with a note of introductory support by MGIAI rector Iurii Afanas'ev.²⁹ Regrettably, however, the pamphlet had gone to press before the January forum discussion in the Division of History.

Debate continues and, as a number of Soviet observers remark, it will be some time before matters of archival reform are resolved. The problem of

²⁵ Quoted in *Ogonek*, 1990, no. 9, p. 11.

²⁶ 'Perestroika arkhivnogo dela' (note 21), pp. 3-4. The latter quotes appeared only in the in-house pamphlet.

²⁷ 'Reshenie Uchenogo Soveta Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-arkhivnogo instituta ot 15 maia 1990g. o resul'tatakh obsuzhdeniia dokumenta "Perestroika arkhivnogo dela—ego sozidanie, a ne razrushenie"'. The author is grateful to colleagues at MGIAI for making the text of the resolution available to me, which is cited here with their permission.

²⁸ A subsequent issue contained an obscure one-line disclaimer from the editor, explaining that the article was published on the order of Glavarkhiv: *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1990, no. 4, p. 110. As explained to me by Soviet colleagues, the note implied that some of the members of the editorial board strongly opposed the published attack; for example, the name of V. I. Buganov was not listed among members of the editorial board in the same issue as the article.

²⁹ Iu. M. Baturin, B. S. Ilizarov, A. B. Kamenskii, M. A. Fedotov, E. I. Khan-Iira, O. V. Shchemeleva and V. L. Entin, *Zakon ob arkhivnom dele i arkhivakh. Kakim emy byt'? Mnenie uchenykh. Initsiativnyi avtorskii proekt* (Moscow, Iuridicheskaiia literatura, 1990). The pamphlet appeared in early July 1990. See the remarks about its publication by V. Georgievskii, 'Svobodnyi vkhod v arkhivy—predlagaiut sdelat' spetsialisty v svoem avtorskom proekte novogo zakona ob arkhivnom dele v SSSR', *Izvestiia*, 18 July 1990, p. 3.

agency archives outside the present control of Glavarkhiv remains particularly acute, and the future role and authority of the archives of the Communist Party and the KGB can hardly be fully resolved until the role of those organizations themselves in a future reformed polity is decided. The Ministry of Defence is also reportedly holding strong in its battle to keep control of its archives away from Glavarkhiv, and particularly the present Glavarkhiv leadership. On the other side, the initiative group draft proposes the replacement of Glavarkhiv by a more limited archival council that would deal with more purely professional functions, and the replacement of the current narrowly defined 'State Archival Fond' with a more democratic and all-inclusive 'Archival Fond of Soviet Society', thus retaining an important element of archival centralization on the all-union level but expanding its jurisdiction to other vital agency records not presently controlled by Glavarkhiv.

Another important question involves separate constituent archival fonds for each national union republic and autonomous region.³⁰ The meeting of the newly formed archival association for the Russian Federation in October 1990 raised serious challenges to a centralized all-union Glavarkhiv authority by strengthening authority on the RSFSR level. In the Baltic, more radically centrifugal reform plans for republic-level archival systems were being finalized in 1990 by Estonian archival leaders, based on the premise of complete Estonian independence. As explained in the report of Peep Pillak, they totally rejected 'the hollow and stagnant proposals' of the all-union Glavarkhiv, and also rejected the 'more democratic' MGIAI alternative because 'it still envisages an all-union centralized archival system'. Many Estonian state archives have already discarded their Soviet-style nomenclature, such as the 'Central State Archive of the October Revolution', restoring the institutional names used during the independent Estonian republic.³¹ Some other republics, such as the Ukraine, while anxious to assert their sovereignty, have yet to break with the Glavarkhiv plan or formulate a thorough-going archival reform plan of their own. Obviously the matter of national archival *fondy* cannot be resolved before the resolution of the basic federative structure of the USSR and the extent of independence of the present constituent union republics.

Only time will tell if Glavarkhiv can reform itself to serve a reformed, multilingual, multinational society, within a market economy and a restructured, democratic political regime. Unfortunately, the extent to which Glavarkhiv has been perceived as a bastion against fundamental reform, and the extent to which its economic resources have been curtailed at a time of

³⁰ *Zakon ob arkhivnom dele* (note 29), pp. 33–34.

³¹ See Peep Pillak, 'Reforms in Estonian Archives', *American Archivist*, 53 (Fall 1990).

general economic crisis may serve further to undermine its positive achievements. Fundamental decisions still need be made about the extent to which the favourable aspects of a centralized archival agency such as Glavarkhiv on an all-union level could best serve the needs of a multinational archival administration. Undoubtedly, it will take considerable public dedication and determination on the part of a socially and culturally responsive leadership to resolve the pending issues and tear down the battlelines that have been draining resources from the more basic issues of archival reform and perestroika of the archival system. A collapsing economy still isolated from the world and western technological advances by its non-convertible currency, and an imperial union that can be preserved only by Soviet tanks and renewed national repression, hardly provide the prerequisites for democratic reform and archival perestroika. Given the maxim that archives by their nature must both reflect and serve the society whose records they preserve, definitive reform of the Soviet archival system can only be accomplished when a new political order has emerged and become stabilized.

Intellectual Access and Archival Finding Aids

Academician D. S. Likhachev, when asked in September 1989 to respond to foreign criticism that many Soviet archives remain closed, immediately related the matter of access to archival reference needs. 'If only archival restrictions were the most glaring insufficiency of our archival service ...', he replied. 'Here there is a whole circle of problems, for which it is insufficient merely to decide from on high to declassify archives. We still need to tell the whole world exactly what is held in them, to publish inventories and catalogues of previously secret documents'³² Academician Likhachev referred his readers to the perceptive article by S. V. Zhitomirskaia, entitled 'Files Not Only Classified Secret',³³ which made the same point.

As the director of TsGANKh noted in late 1989:

Removing restrictions on the use of documents, as justly noted by S. V. Zhitomirskaia and Patricia K. Grimsted in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, in and of itself will not resolve the problems of openness and access to archives for researchers and history lovers. Only essential systematic information ... and an essential quality reference system can divulge the components and contents of archival *fondy*. The informational activity of state archives is extremely inadequate, ... satisfying neither researchers nor even archivists. Automatic information retrieval is essential, but it cannot be introduced in archival affairs without computer technology—of

³² Evgenii Kuz'min, 'Blizorukost' (discussion with Academician D. S. Likhachev), *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 1989, no. 38 (20 September), p. 5.

³³ S. V. Zhitomirskaia (note 14), p. 3. P. K. Grimsted's response to the Zhitomirskaia article, 'Propisi pro opisi', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 1989, no. 33 (16 August), p. 5, emphasized the same point.

which there is none, and without scientifically grounded, unified technical policies for computerization of archival agencies, of which there is also none.³⁴

As Tsaplin and others undoubtedly realize, the computers still need to be programmed for glasnost and real intellectual access. The reference system still needs to be backed by an appropriate budget and a highly motivated staff that could build a viable and progressive, union-wide, multilingual researcher-oriented reference system.

Bibliography of Archival Literature

On the most general level, for research planning, one of the most glaring problems is the lack of even elementary bibliographic information about and availability of the archival guides that do exist. When I compiled the locator/bibliographic appendixes for my handbook for Soviet archival research two years ago, no comprehensive bibliography was available. The most complete card file I found was in the Reference Division (NSA) of Glavarkhiv, but that was not complete and obviously not *de visu*, since all the entries were in Russian. But neither Glavarkhiv nor its blue-ribbon research institute VNIIDAD had a complete set of Glavarkhiv-published guides, and one third of the published guides listed for the RSFSR were not even available in the Lenin Library.³⁵ Recently Glavarkhiv contributed a list of directories and guides to state archival repositories for the 1990 *International Bibliography of Directories and Guides to Archival Repositories*, prepared by the International Council of Archives under UNESCO,³⁶ and, perhaps as a new evidence of glasnost, issued an identical version of this contribution in a small in-house rotaprint pamphlet for domestic use, but it was not widely distributed.³⁷ The bibliography was unduly limited to works prepared only under Glavarkhiv's own sponsorship. Already fast losing respect in the new multinational Soviet environment, Glavarkhiv finds its public relations

³⁴ V. V. Tsaplin, 'Arkhiy i perestroika—"Kruglyi stol" zhurnala', *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1990, no. 1, p. 12.

³⁵ See the detailed discussion of this problem in Grimsted, *Handbook* (note 9), especially pp. 321–23 and 339–42. Regarding Glavarkhiv's earlier bibliographic efforts, see Grimsted, *Handbook*, pp. 190–94.

³⁶ *International Bibliography of Directories and Guides to Archival Repositories* / *Bibliographie internationale des Guides et Annuaire relatifs aux Dépôts d'Archives*, prepared by Margarita Vázquez de Parga, with the collaboration of Soledad Garcia Fernandez and Mercedes Gómez Montejano, and updated by the Editorial Committee of *ARCHIVUM* with assistance from the correspondents of the review, *Archivum*, vol. 36 (Munich, London, New York and Paris: K. G. Saur, 1990), pp. 146–71.

³⁷ *Spravochniki o sostave i soderzhanii fondov gosudarstvennykh arkhivov SSSR. Bibliografiia*, ed. N. A. Karpunova, T. B. Konik and O. Iu. Nezhdanova (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, 1989). The Soviet edition made no reference to the *Archivum* edition, nor was it included in the bibliography submitted to *Archivum*.

scores diminished even further on the international scene, when its latest submission to the ICA bibliography is presented entirely in Russian, with only Russian translations of all titles and publishing data for all entries, including, for example, an impressive page and a half of previously restricted Estonian-language archival guides to regional repositories throughout Estonia, all of which had been produced in the repressive mid-1970s, when archival reference aids in the Estonian language could only be prepared with classified in-house status.

Directories of Archival Repositories

As its solution to public reference needs, Glavarkhiv is proudly displaying a two-volume directory of state archives throughout the USSR, which finally appeared in the summer of 1989 in a press run of 30,000 copies, updating the only other such directory to have appeared since the Revolution, issued some thirty years ago.³⁸ A second part of the new directory, covering archives under other agencies, along with manuscript divisions of libraries and museums under the Ministry of Culture and the Academy of Sciences, is promised early in 1991.³⁹ Unfortunately, this three-volume directory-level coverage was prepared according to guidelines that were issued long before glasnost, and only lists the most general guides to each institution. A number of archivists who submitted better quality entries report that—as so often in the past—their contributions were edited down to the relatively simplistic Glavarkhiv standards. Besides, the directory when completed—limited to the outmoded boundaries of the ‘State Archival Fond’—will not provide a comprehensive guide to archival institutions. Even on the all-union level, the two published volumes, together with the companion volume in press, provide no directory-level coverage of archives under other jurisdictions such as Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Communist Party, the KGB, and Gosfilmofund. Furthermore, since the museums and libraries to be listed in the third volume of Glavarkhiv directory are limited to those that the VNIIDAD group deemed of republic-level importance, there will still be no directory-level coverage for the vast wealth of manuscript materials in the State Archival Fond that remain in local regional study and literary museums.

³⁸ *Gosudarstvennye arkhivy SSSR. Spravochnik*, compiled by N. M. Andreeva, L. M. Babaeva, I. V. Volkova et al., edited by V. N. Avtokratov, F. M. Vaganov et al., 2 vols (Moscow, Mysl', 1989).

³⁹ *Dokumenty Gosudarstvennogo arkhivnogo fonda SSSR v muzeiakh, bibliotekakh i nauchno-otraslevykh arkhivakh*, forthcoming. I am grateful to the reference group in VNIIDAD for showing me their plans, table of contents, guidelines for description, and sample entries for the directory.

The Ministry of Culture itself never published a basic directory of manuscript holdings in museums and libraries under its auspices, and the only available printed lists of Soviet museums were issued for in-house use, often even restricted 'for internal service use only'. Finally, in 1988, a general 'catalogue' appeared with capsule data for about 1,219 historical and regional studies museums throughout the USSR, issued in a press run of 2,000 copies, but it reads like the unrevised, statistical report forms submitted to the ministry.⁴⁰ It completely lacks substantive description of holdings, and is virtually useless for the would-be searcher for the still undescribed archival materials in Soviet museums, even for the limited categories of museums it lists.

Guides to Individual Repositories

Published guides to individual archives constitute an essential element within the general Soviet reference system.⁴¹ Their essential utility will not be outmoded until the day when similar or more detailed *fond*-level descriptions is available widely on a computer network. At least in the 1950s and 60s, guides were issued in properly published form by regular publishing houses. They were well edited, printed in significant press runs and widely distributed. But in the 1970s few archival guides at all were issued, and by the 1980s many of the published guides were being prepared only in in-house rotaprint editions and with miniscule press runs; these were not listed in Soviet national bibliographies and were not available for national or international distribution.

Within the state archival system under Glavarkhiv, a number of basic, but formerly restricted, published archival finding aids have been declassified and researchers, including foreigners, are now permitted to consult the formerly restricted guides for the central post-revolutionary archive

⁴⁰ *Istoricheskie i kraevedcheskie muzei SSSR. Katalog*, compiled by L. N. Godunova et al., edited by M. I. Guidareva et al. (Moscow, Tsentral'nyi muzei revoliutsii SSSR, 1988). An additional 128 museums, formed in the years 1983–1984 and which are not otherwise covered in the directory, are listed with addresses at the end.

⁴¹ I use the term 'guide' in English to render the Russian term *putevoditel'*, which in traditional Soviet archival usage designates a comprehensive finding aid for a single repository with annotated coverage of major individual *fondy*. Since the early 1980s, Glavarkhiv has frequently been using the term *spravochnik* or *kratkii spravochnik* (literally, directory, or short directory) for the more abbreviated guides to individual repositories now being produced. See Grimsted, *Handbook* (note 9), especially pp. 73–75.

TsGAOR SSSR,⁴² the Central State Archive of the National Economy (TsGANKh),⁴³ the pre-revolutionary military archive (TsGVIA SSSR),⁴⁴ the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGADA),⁴⁵ and the Central State Archive of the RSFSR in Moscow (TsGA RSFSR).⁴⁶ The hitherto tightly restricted post-revolutionary Central State Archive of the Soviet Army (TsGASA) went so far as to sign an agreement with an American publisher to reissue its previously classified five-volume list of *fondy* and to publish a new comprehensive guide in the United States.⁴⁷

The era of glasnost has brought these guides out into the open, but has not improved the situation at all with respect to the availability or quality of guides in general. New guides are in preparation for individual central state archives under Glavarkhiv, being produced within the framework of a new computerized database system that is planned eventually to embrace each and every *fond* in Soviet state archives, providing what archivists would call basic *fond-* (record group or collection-) level description. The first to appear is a new two-volume guide to TsGAOR SSSR, with a promise of a supplement listing recently declassified *fondy*.⁴⁸ It was published in an in-house rotaprint

⁴² *Kratkii spravochnik o fondakh Tsentral'nogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii, vysshikh organov gosudarstvennoi vlasti i organov gosudarstvennogo upravleniia SSSR*, comp. L. I. Burkutskaia, A. V. Dobrovskaia et. al., ed. S. M. Pleshakova (Moscow, GAU/TsGAOR SSSR, 1979), along with the earlier secret TsGAOR guide covering the Prague collections, *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii i sotsialisticheskogo stroitel'stva. Putevoditel'*, vol. 2, ed. N. R. Prokopenko (Moscow, GAU MVD, 1952), 395 pp. According to the recent article about the Prague collection by the assistant director of TsGAOR SSSR, Tat'iana Fedorovna Pavlova, only 98,000 of the original 350,000 files of the collections brought from Prague in 1945 remain in TsGAOR: 'Russkii zagranichnyi istoricheskii arkhiv v Prage', *Voprosy istorii*, 1990, no. 11, pp. 19–29.

⁴³ *Kratkii spravochnik fondov Tsentral'nogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva narodnogo khoziaistva SSSR*, comp. E. P. Butskaia, N. M. Kleman, M. E. Kucherenko et al., ed. M. E. Kucherenko, S. V. Prasolova, V. V. Tsaplin (otvetstvennyi redaktor) and N. D. Shulevich (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, 1973).

⁴⁴ *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv. Putevoditel'*, 3 vols (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, 1979).

⁴⁵ *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov. Annotirovannyi perechen' fondov*, 2 vols, vol. 2, pt. 1: *Opisaniia arkhivnykh fondov NoNo 1–184*; pt. 2: *Opisaniia arkhivnykh fondov NoNo 816–1360* (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, 1987).

⁴⁶ *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv RSFSR. Kratkii spravochnik*, ed. N. P. Eroshkin et al. (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, 1973). Not all of these guides are cited in Grimsted, *Handbook* (note 9), appendix 1, but will be annotated in the supplement now in preparation.

⁴⁷ *Annotirovannyi perechen' fondov Tsentral'nogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Sovetskoi Armii*, 5 vols (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, 1987; reprint edition: Minneapolis, Eastview Press, 1991). A two-volume guide to TsGASA is being published by the same American firm, the first volume of which is scheduled for release (only in hard currency) in March 1991.

⁴⁸ *Tsentrāl'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii, vysshikh organov gosudarstvennoi vlasti i organov gosudarstvennogo upravleniia SSSR. Spravochnik*, comp. L. G. Aronov, M. E. Golostenov, A. V. Dobrovskaia et. al., 2 vols (Moscow, Glavarkhiv, TsGAOR SSSR, 1990), vol. 1 (*Dorevoliutsionnyi period*), vol. 2 (*Sovetskii period*). With a press run of 1,000 copies, it is sold at the archive only for 70 kopecks for the first volume and 1 ruble for the second.

format on poor-quality paper and was not available for normal distribution. More grievous than its format, the level of its descriptions is less than adequate for research purposes, and in some cases below the level of those that were prepared when the state archives were under the NKVD and later the MVD before 1960. Guides produced in those years at least had brief agency histories and a bibliography of published finding aids for each *fond*. The present possibilities of the new Glavarkhiv database for *fond*-level description (using IBM personal computers under the All-Union Research Institute for Documentation and Archival Affairs (VNIIDAD)) is simply insufficient for most research purposes.⁴⁹ The problem is obviously with the basic design and simplified level of *fond*-level description, giving no indication of the structure of individual *fondy*, and how they are organized into *opisi*.

Quite surprisingly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs appears well beyond Glavarkhiv in terms of methodology for archival guides. Even without a computer database, the pre-revolutionary Archive of Russian Foreign Policy (AVPR) completed in 1989 a three-volume comprehensive guide to its holdings in typescript form, which is scheduled for publication in 1991.⁵⁰ Although still not ideal in terms of depth of coverage and reference apparatus, and still lacking a bibliography of finding aids, from the standpoint of the researcher it is much more satisfactory than the new TsGAOR guide. The strongest point in its favour, the AVPR guide is the only guide to a major Soviet repository that actually lists and briefly describes the constituent inventories (*opisi*) within each *fond*, with a full list of *opis'* numbers for most of the *fondy*, including dates and the type of documents and/or function of office they represent, and even including the formerly restricted groups of records in that archive.

The comparison of these two guides raises one of the most serious lacunae in the Soviet archival reference system—the frequent lack of the all-important intermediary descriptors—what in America would be called series-level description—between the *fond* and the individual file or storage unit (*delo*). In all Soviet archives the obligatory inventory (*opis'*), as well as

⁴⁹ My appraisal is based on my visits to the VNIIDAD computer centre and discussion with a number of archivists and other specialists, although more detailed consideration of these problems is in order.

⁵⁰ 'Putevoditel' po fondam Arkhiva vneshnei politiki Rossii', 3 vols (Moscow, Istoriko-diplomaticheskoe upravlenie MID SSSR, 1988–1989). Typescript: pt. 1: 'Kollegiia inostrannykh del (1721–1832 gg.)'; pt. 2: 'Tsentral'nye uchrezhdeniia Ministerstva inostrannykh del Rossii (XIX—nachalo XX vv.)'; and pt. 3: 'Zagranichnye uchrezhdeniia vneshnepoliticheskoi sluzhby Rossii (konets XVIII—nachalo XX vv.)'. A fourth part—still to be completed—will list microfilms acquired by AVPR from foreign archives. I am grateful to the archival director for presenting me with a review copy of the first volume and showing me the others on a recent visit. A full review of this guide will need to await its publication.

serving as an internal division, remains the basis of the reference system, identifying each and every item within the *fond*. However, not a single Glavarkhiv published guide lists *opis'* divisions or contents within *fondy*, and many large *fondy* lack basic reference aids that can orient the researcher as to what *opis'* may be needed. For example, if a large *fond* has 150 or more *opisi*, and none are precisely identified in terms of contents, the researcher still does not know where to begin. The main pre-revolutionary historical archive in Leningrad, TsGIA SSSR, has answered this problem with a massive three-volume reference aid listing the *opisi* for all *fondy*, and similar reference aids have been prepared in other archives. These reference aids, however, were not really prepared with the researcher in mind, and there has been no movement to incorporate this essential information in the new computer database system or in description guidelines for the preparation of published guides. In planning future guides and the improved computer database system needed to generate them, Soviet reference planners might do well to include more specific identification of the structural, functional, chronological, and/or geographic divisions of individual *fondy* as represented by different *opisi*, with an enumeration of principal *opis'* divisions and an indication of their contents.

One of the harshest recent critics of the Soviet archival reference system, in commenting on the extent to which the Soviet reference system is predicated on hand retrieval, had to add: 'Admittedly, there are inventories (*opisi*)—fine things—but there were also *opisi* in the seventeenth century.'⁵¹ The critic failed to appreciate that the fact that the tradition of *opisi* is so deeply embedded within the system has had a most beneficial effect on the level of description in Soviet archives. In effect, given the quality of many *opisi*, it is often much easier for a researcher to find the desired documents in Soviet archives than in archives in many other countries of the world that do not have such an ingrained system of documentary registers, and that do not require obligatory *opisi* before files can be given out to readers.

In principle and potential for reference use, the Soviet system of obligatory *opisi* is a fine one, as many foreign researchers who are at last permitted to see them are beginning to appreciate. Many *fondy* have exceedingly fine *opisi*, including many that were prepared before the revolution. But many are hopelessly insufficient for many research purposes. If there are 500 items (*dela*) in a given *opis'*, all of which are described with approximately the same short title with no further identification of their actual contents, the researcher is often left having to look at all 500 items. If archival reading rooms permit the delivery of 10—or at most 20—items per

⁵¹ 'Arkhivy i perestroika', signed pseudonymously, Asaf Litovskii, quoted in Grimsted, 'Glasnost?' e 1), pp. 235–36.

day, that means 50 days work, even though it may take a researcher only less than ten minutes to look through the 10 items and determine that none are relevant.

Obviously, given the gigantic extent of Soviet archival holdings it would hardly be realistic to try to change the basic system of internal arrangement of *fondy* and the generation of *opisi* as the basic finding aids. But the qualitative insufficiency of item-level description produced in various periods by unqualified staff, and the lack of intermediary, series-level identification, results in a reference system in many archives that is simply inadequate for research access. Obviously, too, the time-consuming process of preparing quality new *opisi* is beyond immediate archival possibilities in a period of constrained budgets and staff shortages, when priorities have to be directed to preparing at least minimal *opisi* for newly declassified *fondy* that totally lack *opisi*, so that the *fondy* themselves can be opened to researchers. Obviously, too, annotated lists of available *opisi* should be given priority over redoing the *opisi* themselves.

Another project that would greatly strengthen the reference system of Soviet archives would be the preparation of an annotated catalogue of all unpublished finding aids that have ever been prepared for materials presently held by each archive. Continuing from the bibliography of all published finding aids (which should be included in published guides), first would be general finding aids—earlier unpublished guides, subject surveys for groups of *fondy*, card catalogues, and the like, with careful annotation of which *fondy* or parts of *fondy* and which subjects they cover. Attention should then be directed to all unpublished reference aids for individual *fondy* or parts thereof—earlier *opisi*, document-by-document registers, chancery registers or other chancery finding aids used before the records were acquired by the archive, card catalogues, extract registers, thematic surveys, and related items—many of which are now filed indiscriminately within the *fondy* themselves, or even in other *fondy*, far removed from the documents they describe.

As an interesting attempt to provide better descriptive coverage of a small fragment of one *fond* in TsGADA, my Kiev colleagues and I are preparing a documentary publication of a series of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century document-by-document inventories of the outgoing Polish Crown chancery documents relating to Ukrainian lands from the Union of Lublin in 1569 to 1673.⁵² Although prepared two or three hundred years ago, such *opisi* have been overlooked as archival finding aids in the intervening period, yet they

⁵² *Rus'ka (Volyns'ka) metryka: Regesty dokumentiv koronnoi kantseliarii dlia ukrains'kykh zemel' (Volyns'ke, Bratslavs'ke, Kyïvs'ke, Chernihivs'ke voevodstva), 1569–1673. ukrains'kykh koronnoi kantseliarii 1569–1673 rr.*, sponsored by the Archeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, forthcoming 1992.

remain the only document-by-document descriptions of these little known sources for Ukrainian history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many similar finding aids exist today in Soviet archives that deserve resurrection. A major programme undertaken in all archives to identify all available reference materials that could possibly assist researchers today would be a cost-effective means of improving reference facilities.

Many of the problems currently facing the Soviet archival reference system today stem from theoretical considerations introduced in the 1930s regarding the aims and methods of description of archival materials. Rules and regulations drawn up in that period were predicated on narrow standards of archival description. Even description of an archival unit and all published descriptions of archival holdings were supposed to emphasize narrow Marxist-Leninist conceptions of history and to demonstrate the ingredients of class struggle and the victory of the toiling masses. Many types of archival documents not pertaining to such matters were simply not described or their inherent nature and provenance not recorded.

In the 1930s, well-educated historian-archivists with a knowledge of foreign languages were fired, arrested, and many sent to the *gulag* as 'imperialist spies' or 'enemies of the people' and, in the non-Russian republics, as 'bourgeois nationalists'.⁵³ Recently examined official reports of archives and the archival administration from the 1930s reflect the extent of archival purges and the suppression of all competent archival authorities and scholarly archival standards. An example in point, between 1930 and 1934, was the mass firing of the highly qualified staff of the Kiev Archive of Early Acts, the major historical archive for records of Right-Bank Ukraine prior to the nineteenth century, that had grown to a prominent position in Ukrainian historical scholarship in the 1920s. The arrest of the archive's director Viktor Romanovs'kyi and another senior archivist in January 1931 was the start of a downhill course for the few remaining competent historian-archivists.⁵⁴ The Ukrainian historian Oleksander Ohloblyn, the last historically qualified director, was fired in 1934 for 'introducing bourgeois nationalism into the scientific work of the archive', and virtually the entire staff went with him.⁵⁵ An inspector's report mentioned that by 1938 further work was impossible on documents from the earlier period, because there was no specialist in the

⁵³ The recent article by A. P. Pshenichnyi, 'Repressii arkhivistov v 1930-kh godakh', *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1988, no. 6, only begins to reveal the extent of archival purges.

⁵⁴ TsDAZhR URSR, fond 14, opys 1, sprava 1413, 1729, and 1318.

⁵⁵ The reasons for his dismissal are explained in a 1934 report (written in Russian for the first time), TsDAZhR URSR, fond 14, opys 1, sprava 1733, folios 6–7. The official reason for his dismissal is also quoted by Vasyl Omel'chenko, 'Oleksander Ohloblyn (zhyttia i diial'nist)', in *Zbirnyk na poshanu prof. d-ra Oleksandra Ohloblyna / Collected Essays in Honor of Professor Alexander Ohloblyn*, *Ukrains'ka vil'na Akademiia u SShA, Naukovy zbirnyk* 3 (New York, 1977), p. 59.

archive who knew Latin and Polish.⁵⁶ A 1941 report (in Russian) lists five scientific workers in the archive, all with favorable Party credentials, but none of whom had adequate historical training or knowledge of the requisite foreign languages.⁵⁷

Obviously, without competent staff and with such prescriptive demands for Soviet Marxist archival description, there was little hope for archival finding aids produced in the 1930s. What is more tragic, the complete liquidation of a generation of professionally trained historians and archivists meant that there was no one left to train subsequent generations. And the complete suppression of professional standards of archival description had a multiplying effect on subsequent generations of Soviet archivists, the effects of which are still being felt today. Undoubtedly much of the criticism of Glavarkhiv from archival users, as well as from Soviet archivists themselves, stems not only from the blatant shortcomings of its published products and internal reference service, but equally from its inability to rise above its bureaucratic and jurisdictional limitations in the outmoded concept of the 'State Archival Fond', and from the general unscholarly attitudes towards research and reference service projected to its users and to the public at large during 'the many decades' when, to quote Zhitomirskaia, 'our whole archival system was oriented toward the utmost restriction on information'.⁵⁸

Problems with the reference system are naturally tied also to other more general problems of the archival system and even more general problems of Soviet society. The lack of qualified staff, the inadequate training in contemporary research and descriptive techniques, and the miserable pay for archivists are only a few of the offshoots of the more general social and economic crisis. But they are among the most serious problems that are reflected in the level of scholarly production in terms of an adequate reference system.

There was evidence of glasnost in May 1990 in a Soviet-American Symposium on Archival Description Programs and Finding Aids in the USSR and USA, held in Moscow under the auspices of the bi-national Commission on Archival Cooperation between the American Council of Learned Societies and Glavarkhiv. The very fact that the symposium was devoted to the subject of archival reference systems (albeit strictly limited to participants only and not reported in *Sovetskie arkhivy*), and the fact that it featured frank and open discussion of new developments and problems in archival reference systems on both sides of the Atlantic, is, one may hope,

⁵⁶ TsDAZhR, fond 14, opys 1, sprava 1842, folio 20. See also an additional report from the late 1930s, TsDAZhR, fond 14, opys 1, sprava 1930, fols. 75–83.

⁵⁷ As to their experience, one had been hired in 1935, one in 1938, and the remaining three in 1940: TsDAZhR, fond 14, opys 1, sprava 1930, folio 83.

⁵⁸ Zhitomirskaia, in *American Archivist* 54, p. 475.

indicative of a new era of serious attention to reference service for researchers on the part of Glavarkhiv. It is to be hoped that further such professional contacts, combined with more open public discussion of such problems by progressive minded archivists and by informed researchers, will help focus attention on the needed reforms. In the meantime, foreign researchers can be encouraged to seek out new materials in Soviet archives, but they should be prepared to deal with a still basically unreformed archival system in a still unreformed society. They will need to be prepared to cope with a reference system that cannot be brought up to twentieth-century standards overnight after seventy years of increasing neglect.

Reviews

A Guide to Scholarly Resources on the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union in the New York Metropolitan Area, compiled by Robert A. Karlowich. New York and London, M. E. Sharp Inc., 1990. 312 pp. Index. \$49.95.

This *Guide* describes resources in 150 repositories in the New York area and three repositories elsewhere which hold collections transferred from New York. The repositories are arranged alphabetically by title and each entry includes the following information: address; contact name; telephone number; opening hours; conditions of access; facilities (reading room, photocopying etc.); history of the collection where applicable; description of holdings with special features when appropriate; catalogues; bibliography. Some of the entries would have benefited from a little editing—some read as if the publicity material of the repositories has been reproduced exactly, and the prices of photocopying will become outdated—but the format of the *Guide* is consistent and the material is presented clearly.

This *Guide* appears nine years after the publication of the excellent volume *The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union: A Guide to Manuscripts and Archival Materials in the United States* by Steven A. Grant and John H. Brown. The Grant and Brown volume was restricted to manuscript sources and this new guide includes printed works, paintings, film and artefacts. The description of holdings of books and periodicals is a useful complement to the Grant and Brown survey and the entry for the New York Public Library is particularly informative. As is inevitable in guides of this nature, individual items relating to Russia within collections receive more prominence than the contents of large diffuse holdings. For example, the tape of a performance by the Ukrainian National Ensemble in Kiev in 1983 and a 1917 USA shoulder patch from the Allied Expeditionary Force are listed for a private collection while the holdings of the New York branch of National Archives, which must include material on Russian immigrants, are described in very general terms. An impressive variety of repositories has been surveyed, including private collections, art galleries, churches and book dealers. It is, however, significant to note the type of repositories and holdings which are not included. There are very few references to commercial contacts with Russia or the Soviet Union and no entries from banks, firms, shipping companies or port authorities. Professor Karlowich notes in his introduction that only 153 of his 300 questionnaires were returned, and it would be interesting to know whether he attempted to find such material and was unsuccessful.

Although any attempt to increase our knowledge of sources relating to Russia must be welcomed, the main weakness of this *Guide* is that much of

the information has already been listed by Grant and Brown (and, incidentally, the Grant and Brown volume has a more useful index as it directs readers to individual collections and not just to the institution as is the case here). Furthermore, Professor Karlowich is inconsistent in his use of the Grant and Brown volume. Sometimes its entries are reproduced in full, sometimes they are abbreviated or summarized, sometimes they are supplemented and sometimes only a selection has been included. In addition, readers are asked to consult the Grant and Brown volume for further bibliographical, and sometimes catalogue, information. Comments such as 'The entries for this guide have been taken from the Bressler catalog and do not necessarily agree with or repeat those in Grant & Brown' are less than helpful. As a result, this *Guide* can only be used in conjunction with the Grant and Brown volume and as such should perhaps have been conceived of as a supplement to that volume rather than as a separate publication.

JANET M. HARTLEY

London School of Economics and Political Science

A Researcher's Guide to Sources on Soviet Social History in the 1930s, edited by Sheila Fitzpatrick and Lynne Viola. Armonk, New York, M. E. Sharpe Inc., 1990. 296 pp. Includes bibliographical references and tables. \$49.95.

This volume is unusual in the world of Slavic studies for its analysis of sources. While such works as Charles Morley (*Guide to Research in Russian History*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1951), Paul L. Horecky (*Basic Russian Publications ...*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), and Wojciech Zalewski (*Fundamentals of Russian Reference Work in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, New York: Russica Publications, 1985), to name only a few, provide brief annotations to their bibliographical listings, they deal mainly either with the 'most important' reference sources or the basic titles in particular fields. This work is different in that scholars (Western and Soviet) have given a very precise, clear analysis in narrative form to key, not necessarily basic, publications in their respective fields (history, law, economics, statistics, industrialization and collectivization). They are all specialists who know their sources well. Some of the contributors to the book are: A. B. Bezborodov, *dotsent*, Moscow State Archival-Historical Institute; Mark von Hagen, associate professor and assistant director of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University; Lewis Siegelbaum, associate professor of history at Michigan State University; Peter H. Solomon Jr., professor of political economy, University of Toronto; and S. G. Wheatcroft, senior lecturer in history, University of Melbourne, Australia.

In addition, hidden under the title is a detailed up-to-date guide and brief

history of archival development in the Soviet Union for the period covered by the book, written by Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, a fellow at the Ukrainian Research Center at Harvard and a well-known expert on Soviet archives. Following this, there is a breakdown by Lynne Viola, one of the editors of the book and associate professor of history at the University of Toronto, of the organization of data in a Soviet archive—truly a useful ‘how to’ summation for those who have not yet faced the archival maze in the Soviet Union. And there is more, much more. J. Arch Getty, an associate professor of history at the University of California, Riverside, has two chapters: one an excellent summation of the contents of the Smolensk Archive (local Communist Party records captured by the Germans during World War II and then found by the American army); the second, an equally valuable assessment of the worth and availability of Soviet city directories. Hiroaki Kuromiya, a junior fellow at King’s College, Cambridge, has done the same for Soviet and emigré memoirs. Three Soviet scholars (Vladimir Zinov'evich Drobizhev, former chair, now deceased, in Soviet History, and Efim Iosifovich Pivovarov, professor of Soviet history, both of the Moscow State Historical-Archival Institute, and Andrei Konstantinovich Sokolov, chair of the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of the USSR) have outlined efforts made in the USSR to create data banks from professional and worker censuses and personal questionnaires filled in by delegates to the various congresses of the 1930s. There is also a list of thirty-four active or almost completed Soviet databases appended to the chapter. Sheila Fitzpatrick, the second editor of this book and now in the Department of History at the University of Chicago, has given a thorough review of newspapers and journals for the period, their relative importance, including the value of regional serial publications. There are also appendices of bibliographies on Soviet newspapers and stenographic reports of the myriad Soviet and Party meetings. Professor Fitzpatrick also provides introductory commentary on the sources outlined in this book and possibilities for future research in the social history of the Soviet Union in the 1930s.

As one can assume, each chapter is packed with data, with valuable commentary on sources and, in addition, separate treasure troves of bibliographies and citations placed in the footnotes.

It is true that the period covered by this work is not extensive in time, covering only the first twenty years of the Soviet experience and emphasizing mainly the 1930s. But these were momentous and significant years in the formation of Soviet society and they have still not been sorted out completely. Thus this book is important to those who intend to pursue similar lines of investigation and, as well, a useful aid to librarians who are broadening their collections or need to instruct users on possible sources of material.

One only hopes that this effort will goad other scholars into action to give us similar bibliographical, factual coverage of the whole Soviet experience.

ROBERT A. KARLOWICH

Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, NY

Barbara Bieńkowska and Halina Chamerska, *Books in Poland: Past and Present*, edited and translated by Wojciech Zalewski and Eleanor Payne. Publishing, Bibliography, Libraries and Archives in Russia and Eastern Europe, vol. 1. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1990. viii + 110 pp. Bibliography. Illustrations. Index. DM 78.

This book is very welcome as the first presentation in a leading world language of this very important aspect of the culture of the *terra incognita* which stretches between Germany and Russia, the more *incognita* the deeper one delves into its past. The compact size of the book and its, at least up to 1939, comprehensive presentation of the various aspects of the subject—there are four chapters dealing with ‘the Polish book’, ‘history of bibliography in Poland’, ‘libraries’ and ‘archives in Poland’—will enable the English-speaking reader to find easily information otherwise difficult to come by in languages other than Polish. The authors are acknowledged experts in the field of book and library studies.

To many of its readers it will no doubt be a revelation to discover that printing in Poland started in 1473, that already in the early decades of the sixteenth century books were printed there not only in Latin and Polish, but also in Church Slavonic, Hungarian and Hebrew, and that by the end of the century some 8,000 titles had been produced by printing presses widely scattered over the Polish, Ruthenian and Lithuanian parts of the Commonwealth, a large proportion of these belonging to the Protestants, Orthodox and Jews who were free to publish their religious material in an officially Catholic country. Moreover, the Western reader may well feel surprised that the first Cyrillic books were printed in the Polish capital of Cracow *ca.* 1490 and that subsequently such books, which in the West are much too readily described as ‘Russian’, were in fact printed in the many Ukrainian and Belorussian centres of book production in the eastern territories of the Commonwealth.

The authors cover their subject to 1986, so there is a large gap between this date and the date of publication. This is unfortunate, not only because much happened during the missing years in Polish book production and availability of information to the Polish reader, but also because much that the authors (both resident in Poland) were not free to say in 1986 could be said in 1989, when they wrote their preface. If the text could have been

updated before being sent to the publishers, then the significant gaps in its description of the period from 1945 (which, overall, is dealt with in more detail than the earlier ones) could have been filled in. The suppression of private publishers in the Stalinist period is not even mentioned (they are said to have mysteriously 'died completely' in 1950, p. 36), nor is the havoc wrought by the introduction of preventative censorship.

The authors' preface says: 'Comments about the fate of Polish books abroad are treated as an integral part of the topic.' However, this promise is honoured only as far as the nineteenth century is concerned, where a separate section of over two pages is devoted to emigré publishing and librarianship. The same phenomenon after 1945, and indeed also in the wartime years, is hardly touched upon. Thus the Polish Library in London (the 'national library outside Poland', complementing the bibliographical work which until recently the National Library in Warsaw was forbidden to undertake) is not even mentioned. The very extensive publishing outside Poland is granted only a nine-line paragraph for the wartime period (when Polish material was printed in Britain, the Middle East, Italy, Africa, India and elsewhere), and the post-1945 emigré publishing of very considerable size and achievement is disposed of in a ten-line paragraph which ignores all the leading publishers obnoxious to the Communist regime.

Another very important subject absent from these pages is the 'second circulation', the very large and varied clandestine publishing industry in Poland (1976–89) which has no equal anywhere in peacetime and which played a great role in preparing the way for the 'revolution' which started in 1989. Finally, the gradual relaxation of censorship in recent years and the emergence of new 'above-ground' publishers should at least have been mentioned.

The book includes propaganda-style references to the achievements of 'People's' Poland, which could have been eliminated had the text been updated. The original was evidently written in what has too often been regarded in Eastern Europe as the 'scholarly style', i.e. pretentiously 'erudite' and verbose, a style which presents a most formidable challenge to translators who must at all costs avoid the easy way of translating word-for-word. Here, verbatim translation from Polish has produced many examples of unappetizing English such as 'It was after all the entire literary output of progressive thought plus a great deal of ephemera; in brief, all that should be available in a live cultural organism' (p. 18). There is a danger that this kind of language may detract from the value of the information it aims to convey.

In other cases, over-literal translation obscures the sense. Will the reader guess that a 'tasteful bibliophile' (p. 61) means a discerning connoisseur? Or that a 'court' library (p. 65) means a private library in a manor house? What is a 'meritorious' firm of publishers (pp. 16, 21)? What was the 'Four Year

Council' (p. 16)? It was the Sejm or parliament. Attention should also have been given to proof-reading in order to eliminate consistently wrong use of capitals in Polish book titles, as well as incorrect word-splitting such as Towar-zystwo (p. 39) and Wierc-zyński (p. 77).

The Polish part of the bibliography, whose purpose is to direct the reader to sources of further information, includes eleven titles, two of which deal with Polish cataloguing rules and four with various legal aspects of librarianship. These could be of interest only to very specialized readers, while much more relevant material is ignored. Some examples are: *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1959-); H. Więckowska, *Twórcy nowoczesnego bibliotekarstwa polskiego* (Wrocław, 1974); M. Czarnowska, *Ilościowy rozwój polskiego ruchu wydawniczego 1501-1965* (Warsaw, 1967); S. Pańków, *Archiwa*, 2nd ed. (Warsaw, 1975); *Librorum in Polonia editorum deliciae* (Warsaw, 1974); or indeed Barbara Bieńkowska's *Staropolski świat książek* (Wrocław, 1976).

There is little pleasure in searching for weak points in a pioneering and long overdue book; it is done in the hope that a second edition, thoroughly revised and updated and with the many more illustrations that the subject deserves, may be produced.

HANNA ŚWIDERSKA

London

David Arans, *Bibliografia russkikh knig, izdannyykh za predelami SSSR 1980-1989*. Washington, 1990. 244 pp. Indexes.

Ever since the first post-revolutionary emigrés and exiles began to establish a Russian culture abroad, efforts have been made to register the stream of publications which ensued. (A survey by Mark Kulikowski of bibliographies concerned with Russian publications abroad appeared in *Solanus*, n.s. vol. 3, 1990.) The two most important cumulative bibliographies are L. A. Foster's *Bibliography of Russian Emigré Literature 1918-1968* (Boston, 1970) and *L'Émigration russe. Revues et recueils, 1920-1980. Index général des articles*, edited by T. L. Gladkova and T. A. Osorgina (Paris, 1988). Other guides and bibliographies have set out to cover both emigré and dissident/unofficial Soviet publications; of these, the most impressive is the bio-bibliographical guide *Free Voices in Russian Literature, 1950s-1980s*, by Bosiljka Stevanovic and Vladimir Wertsman (New York, 1987).

David Arans aims to cover all books in Russian published outside the USSR during the last decade, and his bibliography reflects the multifarious nature of the spiritual, intellectual and imaginative strivings of Russians who managed to escape the pressure of official Soviet ideology either in refuge

abroad or in their homeland.

The bibliography lists some 1694 items, primarily monographs; reprints have been omitted, unless they contain new material, as have most translations from European languages. It is divided into the following sections: Philosophy and Religion, Political Sciences, Art, Literary Criticism and Linguistics, Belles-Lettres, History, Memoirs and Diaries, and Miscellaneous. Within each section items are listed alphabetically by author, and each item is annotated. Annotations are descriptive rather than evaluative.

Every section, but especially the first, reveals the continuity of past and present in Russian emigré cultural and spiritual life; the works of philosophers and religious thinkers such as N. Berdiaev, S. Bulgakov and G. Fedotov are still in print in the 1980s. Also of great importance is the heritage of the modern Russian classics: Bunin, B. Zaitsev, Tsvetaeva and Pasternak ... The bibliography shows that one of the modern Russian classics most frequently published in the 1980s is Mikhail Bulgakov. Judging by number of publications, it is also evident that the influence of that living classic, Solzhenitsyn, has not waned. Also very popular with publishers, and therefore presumably with readers, is Aleksandr Zinov'ev, author of *Homo Sovieticus*.

The section of memoirs takes us back to Russian life at the beginning of the century, and recalls the events of revolution, civil war and life in exile in the first decades after the revolution. Notable here are books by Remizov, Zinaida Gippius, Mikhail Rodzianko, Roman Gul' and many others. Naturally, the memoirs and diaries of more recent figures also occupy an important place in this section; they include the writings of Elena Bonner, Ernst Neizvestny, Raisa Orlova and Andrei Siniavskii.

The structure of the bibliography is complex and the order of the subjects is rather unusual. Some entries could have been assigned to other sections. Several books were obviously hard to classify. For instance, V. Il'in's *Religiia, revoliutsiia i gibel' kul'tury* is mentioned twice: in Political Sciences (no. 184) and in History (no. 1241), in the latter case with an extended annotation. However, any confusion is easy to clarify with the help of the author and title indexes which the bibliography provides.

The compiler admits in his preface that many books, especially those published in 1988 and 1989, may have slipped through his net; his intention is to include these in a bibliography of the 1990s to be published in the year 2000. Overall, David Arans's work is a valuable tool for the study of Russian intellectual life abroad, and provides illuminating information for all those who care about the fate of Russian culture.

Notes

Other Publications of Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies

Selected papers edited for the International Council for Soviet and East European Studies by Stephen White, University of Glasgow:

Published by Cambridge University Press:

Anders Aslund, ed., *Market Socialism or Capitalist Restoration?*

Linda Edmondson, ed., *Women and Society in Russia and the Soviet Union*

Roger Kanet, ed., *The Soviet Union in the International Political System*

Marie Lavigne, ed., *The USSR and Eastern Europe in the Global Economy*

John Massey Stewart, ed., *The Soviet Environment: Problems, Policies and Politics*

Stephen White, ed., *New Directions in Soviet History*

Published by Macmillan

Roy Allison, ed., *Radical Reform in Soviet Defense Policy*

Ben Eklof, ed., *School and Society in Tsarist and Soviet Russia*

John Elsworth, ed., *The Silver Age in Russian Literature*

John and Carol Garrard, eds., *World War II in Soviet Memory*

Zvi Gitelman, ed., *The Politics of Nationality in the Contemporary USSR*

Sheelagh Graham, ed., *New Perspectives in Soviet Literature*

Celia Hawkesworth, ed., *Politics and Literature in Eastern Europe*

Lindsey Hughes, ed., *New Perspectives on Muscovite Russia*

Walter Joyce, ed., *Social Change and Social Issues in the Contemporary USSR*

Bohdan Krawchenko, ed., *Ukrainian Past, Ukrainian Present*

Robert D. McKean, ed., *New Perspectives in Modern Russian History*

Paul G. Lewis, ed., *Democracy and Civil Society in Eastern Europe*

John Morison, ed., *The Czech and Slovak Experience*

John Morison, ed., *East Europe and the West*

John O. Norman, ed., *New Directions in Soviet Art and Culture*

Derek Offord, ed., *The Golden Age in Russian Literature and Thought*

Michael E. Urban, ed., *Ideology and System Change in the USSR and Eastern Europe*

Other Publishers:

John Dunstan, ed., *Soviet Education under Perestroika* (Routledge)

Michael Ellman and Vladimir Kontorovich, eds., *The Disintegration of the Soviet Economic System* (Routledge)

F. J. M. Feldbrugge, ed., *Papers in Soviet Law* (Nijhoff)

Publication in Journals:

'The Emigré Experience', ed. Laszlo Dienes: special issue of *Coexistence*

Issues in East European Economics: in selected issues of *Soviet Studies*

'New Directions in Soviet Politics': special issue of the *Journal of Communist Studies*

Papers in Language and Linguistics: special issue of *Papers in Slavonic Linguistics*

Papers on Religion: special issue of *Religion in Communist Lands*

Papers on Slovene Studies: special issue of *Slovene Studies*

Papers on the Revolution and Civil War: special issue of *Revolutionary Russia*

Khudozhestvennaia literatura

The publisher 'Khudozhestvennaia literatura' is now able to supply its publications (for hard currency) direct to libraries in the West. These can be selected from forward publishing plans, available from the publisher on request. Lists of available books on particular themes (e.g. Russian classics, current Soviet literature, critical studies of specific authors) can also be supplied.

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Librarians' Study Tour

In April 1991 a group of eleven librarians from various national, university or polytechnic libraries in Britain spent two weeks visiting libraries in Novosibirsk, Tomsk and Moscow. All participants were Russian specialists. The tour was made possible by financial support from the British Council

Moscow office and by the efforts of Mr B. S. Elepov, Director of the All-Union State Scientific-Technical Library in Novosibirsk, and Mrs E. Iu. Genieva, Acting Director of the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature in Moscow. The programme was superbly planned and organised by the staff of these two libraries, and the tour provided an opportunity not only to discuss practical problems relating to book exchanges, but also to gain insight into the workings of Soviet libraries. It is hoped that a return delegation of Soviet librarians will visit Britain later this year. A full report of the study tour will be available in due course from Dr Christine Thomas, Slavonic and East European Collections, The British Library, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG.

Moscow Librarians' Association

The Moscow Librarians' Association now has its own newspaper, the *Moskovskii bibliotechnyi vestnik*. The first issue tells the story of the founding of the association, prints its statute, and describes what the association can offer to its members. It also includes an article about the problems of the Lenin Library. The second issue will publish information about the newly founded Russian Federation of Library Associations.

Beregina

A new 'journal for family reading', entitled *Beregina*, has been launched by the All-Union Society 'Kniga'. It contains original, previously unpublished material, translations, columns for the bibliophile and the ex-librist, stories for children, etc. The journal, a quarterly in 1991, is not yet available on foreign subscription, but libraries or individuals in the West willing to subscribe in arrears by paying next year for 1991 and 1992 should apply to:

The Editor, *Beregina*
Vsesoiuznoe Obshchestvo 'Kniga'
ul. Pushechnaia, d. 7/5
103031 Moscow

Books Received

D. L. L. Howells, *Russian Emigré Serials 1855–1990 in Oxford Libraries: Materials for a Union Catalogue*. Oxford, Willem A. Meeuws, 1990. x, 43 pp. £5 (paper), £8 (plastic-covered boards).

Library Work for Immigrants: A Handbook, edited by Yolande Inklaar et al., translated from the Dutch by Thea Adamson-van Elteren. Den Haag, Nederlands Bibliotheek en Lektuur Centrum, 1990. 165 pp. Dfl. 35.

Gerhard Seewann, *Bestandskatalog der Bibliothek des Südost-Instituts München*. Bd. 1: Druckschriften 1529–1945. München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990 (Südosteuropa-Bibliographie: Ergänzungsband 1). xlvii, 840 pp. Index.

Südost-Institut München 1930–1990. Mathias Bernath zum siebzigsten Geburtstag. München, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1990 (Südosteuropa-Bibliographie: Ergänzungsband 2). 307 pp.

Garth M. Terry, *East European Languages and Literatures, Vol. V: A Subject and Name Index to Articles in English-Language Journals, Festschriften, Conference Proceedings and Collected Papers 1988–1990*. Nottingham, Astra Press, 1991 (Astra Soviet and East European Bibliographies, no. 11). xxi, 149 pp. £18 (incl. p&p).

Contributors

W. E. Butler is Professor of Comparative Law in the University of London, and Secretary of The Bookplate Society, London.

Marianna Tax Choldin is the C. Walter and Gerda B. Mortenson Distinguished Professor for International Library Programs at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

V. I. Fedorova is a Senior Researcher in the Russian Department of the Hermitage Museum.

David Griffiths is Associate Professor of Russian History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Patricia Kennedy Grimsted is a research associate at the Ukrainian Research Institute, and a fellow of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University.

Iaroslav D. Isaievych is Head of the Department of the History of Culture, Institute of Social Sciences, in Lviv.

V. E. Kel'ner is on the staff of the Rare Books Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library.

Zuzana Nagy is the Slavic Librarian for Czech and Slovak at the Harvard College Library.

N. G. Patrusheva is on the staff of the Rare Books Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library.

I. V. Pozdeeva is a Senior Scientific Consultant in the Faculty of History at Moscow University.

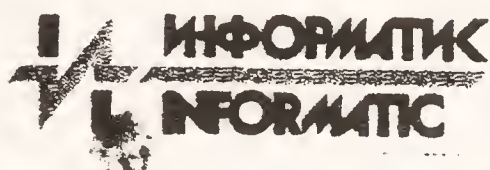
A. Suetnov is a bibliographer, and Director of the Centre for the Study of Social Movements, in Moscow.

Hanna Świdorska has recently retired from her post of Curator of Polish Collections in the British Library.

Gregory Walker is Head of Acquisitions in the Department of Printed Books at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Nadia Zilper is the Slavic and East European Resources Bibliographer at the Davis Library in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Janet Zmroczek is Curator of Polish Collections at the British Library.



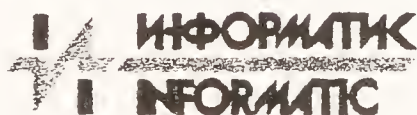
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